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THE WORKS OF

VOLTAIRE

A CONTEMPORARY VERSION

WITH NOTES BY TOBIAS SMOLLETT, REVISED AND MODERNIZED
NEW TRANSLATIONS BY WILLIAM F. FLEMING, AND AN
INTRODUCTION BY OLIVER H. G. LEIGH

A CRITIQUE AND BIOGRAPHY
BY
THE RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY

FORTY-TWO VOLUMES

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHT DESIGNS, COMPRISING REPRODUCTIONS
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VOLUME XXIV

E. R. DuMONT
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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOL. I

CHINA, B. C.—EUROPE, ELEVENTH CENTURY

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NOTE

THESE historical studies were begun before 1740, but they were not published as a collection until 1756. They were entitled, "Essays upon the Manners and Spirit (*les Mœurs et l'Esprit*) of Nations, and upon the Principal Facts of History, from Charlemagne to Louis XIII." Dry history these essays assuredly are not, but they are the most piquant and thought-stimulating commentaries on history ever written, until nineteenth-century scholars learned from Voltaire the art of singling out the vital elements from the worthless rakings of the old chroniclers. Exact knowledge was not available in his day as in ours, hence the amusing leaven of hearsay from travellers' tales which weakens historical values; but the pungent reflections, criticisms, and side-thrusts at many delusions which still survive are as pertinent now as then. The articles on various topics which formed the original Introduction are among the Essays and Short Studies. The work, or rather a haphazard collection of the separately published essays, was brought out without the author's consent, in Holland, in 1753. He promptly disavowed authorship when it was circulated in Paris, but the clerics found enough heresy in the work to force the king to forbid the return of Voltaire to his native city. In doubt where to find a haven of refuge from these

persecutions, he had thoughts of settling in Pennsylvania, among the Quakers he so deeply respected. Dread of the voyage prevented a step which would have corrected some of his excusable inaccuracies when treating on matters American, and probably would have enriched our early literature with characteristic wit and wisdom.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

1762 EDITION.

M. DE VOLTAIRE is one of the few happy authors who have lived to enjoy the full fruits of the most extensive reputation. He has lived to see his fame flourishing not only in his own country, but also diffused over all the civilized kingdoms and states of Europe; among which he is universally admired for the fire of his genius, the brilliancy of his wit, the poignancy of his satire, the elegance of his style: in a word, for that nameless talent which operates like a charm, engaging the reader's attention and applause, even in spite of himself, and, as it were, rendering the performance enchanting alike to persons of every age, nation, character, and complexion.

But how much soever he may be admired in other countries, he seems to be peculiarly adapted by nature for the entertainment of the English people, distinguished as he is by that impetuosity of genius, that luxuriancy of imagination and freedom of spirit, which have characterized the most eminent poets of the British nation.

This congenial affinity remarkably appears in that eagerness with which his works are procured, translated, and perused by the natives of Great Britain: an impatience attended with some inconvenience, which it is our purpose to remove.

The works of M. de Voltaire having made their first appearance in detached pieces, were partly translated into the English language separately by different hands, with very different degrees of merit, published in various parcels, according to the respective schemes and abilities of the different editors and translators, who selected from the whole such pieces only as they imagined would best suit their particular purposes. Thus the translation of Voltaire's works has been left incomplete with respect to the general plan, as well as irregular in regard to the printing and paper, the size and execution of the separate volumes.

It may also be pronounced defective in another sense. Our author's imagination is so warm and impetuous that it often transports him from image to image, and from sentiment to sentiment, with such rapidity as obliges him to leave the picture half disclosed, and the connection unexplained. In his prose writings, he usually bursts into the subject, and throws a glare of light on some particular part, as if he took it for granted that the reader had before considered it in every other attitude and point of view. The velocity of impulse, added to a remarkable passion for peculiarity in point of sentiment,

has hurried him into some obscurities, inadvertencies, and errors, especially in the execution of his historical tracts, which of all his works are the most universally read for entertainment and instruction.

In order, therefore, to do justice to his merit, and at the same time supply his defects, we propose to publish a complete and regular translation of all his works, illustrated with notes historical and critical, which may correct his mistakes, elucidate his obscurities, point out his beauties, and explain his allusions to the satisfaction of the public.

THE INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

THE PLAN OF THE WORK;

WITH

A Summary Account of what the Western Nations originally were, and the Author's Reasons for beginning this Essay with a Description of the East.

You are at length resolved, then, to surmount the disgust you conceived from reading the "Modern History" since the decay of the Roman Empire, and to receive a general idea of the nations which inhabit and ravage the face of the earth. All that you seek to learn in this immensity of matter, is only that which deserves to be known; the genius, the manners and customs of the principal nations, supported by facts, of which no intelligent person should be ignorant. The aim of such an inquiry is not to know the precise year in which the brutal sovereign of a barbarous people was succeeded by a prince unworthy of historical notice. If a man could have the misfortune to encumber his head with the chronological series of all the dynasties which have

existed, all his knowledge would be a jumble of words. As it is laudable to know the great actions of those sovereigns who have improved their subjects, and rendered them more happy; so is it reasonable to remain in ignorance of vulgar events in reigns, which serve only to burden the memory. What advantage can you derive from the minute detail of a number of petty interests and connections which no longer subsist; of families long extinct, that contested the possession of provinces now swallowed up in mighty kingdoms? Every individual city now boasts its own particular history, whether true or false, more voluminous and circumstantial than that of Alexander the Great. There is more writing in the archives of a single convent, than in the annals of the Roman Empire.

A reader must confine himself to certain limits, and select only the choice parts from those immense collections which the study of one person cannot possibly comprehend. They constitute a vast magazine, from whence you take what is necessary for your own occasions.

The illustrious Bossuet, who, in his treatise on one part of the "Universal History," displays the true spirit of a historian, has left off at the reign of Charlemagne. Your design is, by beginning with this era, to form to yourself a picture of mankind: but you must often trace back your inquiry to times of greater antiquity. That great writer, in briefly mentioning the Arabians, who founded such

a mighty empire, and established such a flourishing religion, speaks of them as a deluge of barbarians. He expatiates indeed on the Egyptians; but wholly suppresses the Indians and Chinese, who are at least as ancient and considerable as the people of Egypt.

Regaled as we are by the produce of their country, clothed with their stuffs, amused by the games which they invented, nay, even instructed by the morality of their ancient fables, why should we neglect to learn the genius of those nations which our European traders have constantly visited, ever since they first found out the way to their coasts?

In your philosophical inquiries touching the concerns of this globe, you naturally direct your first attention to the East, the nursery of the arts, to which the western world owes everything which it now enjoys. The oriental and southern climes inherit every advantage immediately from nature; whereas we, in these northern regions, owe all to time, to commerce, and to tedious industry.

The countries anciently possessed by the Celts, Allobroges, Picts, Germans, Sarmatians, and Scythians, produced nothing but wild fruits, rocks, and forests. Sicily, indeed, is said to have afforded a small quantity of oats; but as for wheat, rice, and the fruits of delicate taste and flavor, they grew on the borders of the Euphrates, in China, and in India. The most fertile countries were first inhabited, and their inhabitants first regulated by police. The whole Levant, from Greece even to the extremities

of our hemisphere, was famous in history even long before we knew so much of it as to be sensible of our own barbarity. If we want to know anything of our ancestors, the Celts, we must have recourse to the Greeks and Romans, nations of a much later date than those who inhabit the continent of Asia.

For example: Though the Gauls bordering on the Alps, in conjunction with the inhabitants of these mountains, settled on the banks of the Po, from whence they penetrated to Rome about three hundred and sixty years after the foundation of that city, and even besieged the capitol; we should never have known of this expedition, but for the Roman historians. Though another swarm of the same people, about one hundred years after this enterprise, invaded Thessaly and Macedonia, and advanced to the coast of the Euxine Sea: all the information we have of this adventure, is from the Greeks; and they have neither told us who those Gauls were, nor what route they followed. In our own country there is not the least memorial of these migrations, in which our forefathers resembled the Tartars: they only prove that we were a numerous and uncivilized people. The Grecian colony that founded Marseilles six hundred years before the Christian era, found it impracticable to polish the Gauls: the Greek language did not extend beyond their own territory. Neither Gauls, Germans, Spaniards, Britons, nor Sarmatians, know anything of their own ancestors that happened above eighteen

centuries ago, except the little they learn from the records of their conquerors. We are even destitute of fables, as if we had not courage to invent an origin: for those vain conceits importing that all the West was peopled by Gomer, the son of Japhet, are fictions of the East. If the ancient Tuscans, who instructed the first inhabitants of Rome, knew something more than the other nations of the West, they either owed that knowledge to the Greek colonies that settled among them, or it was the peculiar property of that soil to produce men of genius; as the territory of Athens was more fruitful of the arts than were those of Thebes and Lacedæmon. But, after all, what monuments have we now remaining of ancient Tuscany? None at all. We exhaust ourselves in vague conjectures on some unintelligible inscriptions which have escaped the injuries of time. As for the other nations of Europe, not one inscription remains in any language which they anciently used.

The coast of Spain was discovered by the Phœnicians, as the Spaniards have since discovered America. The Tyrians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, were in their turns enriched by the treasures of the earth, which that country produced. The Carthaginians found their advantage in mines as rich as those of Mexico and Peru; mines which time has exhausted, as it will exhaust the treasures of the new world. Pliny gives us to understand, that the Romans, in the space of nine years, drew

from thence eight thousand marks of gold, and about twenty thousand of silver. It must be owned, that those pretended descendants of Gomer made a very bad use of the various advantages which their country produced; seeing they were successively subdued by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Arabians.

What we learn of the Gauls from Julius Cæsar and other Roman authors, gives us the idea of a people that stood in need of being subdued by a civilized nation. The dialects of the Celtic language were altogether frightful. The emperor Julian, in whose reign it was still spoken, says they resembled the croaking of ravens. In Cæsar's time, their language was not more barbarous than their manners. Their druids, a set of the greatest impostors, though well enough adapted to the people whom they governed, used to sacrifice human victims, whom they burned in large and hideous wicker statues. The female druids plunged their knives into the hearts of the prisoners, and predicted future events from the flowing of the blood. The vast stones which appear a little hollowed on the confines of Gaul and Germany, are said to be the altars on which those sacrifices were offered. These are the only monuments of ancient Gaul. Those who inhabited the coasts of Biscay and Gascony, sometimes fed on human flesh. We must turn our eyes with horror from the contemplation of those savage times, which are indeed a disgrace to human nature.

Let us reckon among the extravagances of the human imagination, the notion entertained in our days, that the Celts were descended from the Hebrews. They sacrificed their own species, say those visionaries, because Jephthah sacrificed his daughter. The druids were clad in white, in imitation of the Jewish priests: like these, they had a high priest; and the female druids were representatives of Moses' sister and Deborah. The poor wretch pampered at Marseilles, and offered as a sacrifice, crowned with flowers, and loaded with curses, was an allusion to the scape-goat. They go so far as to find some resemblance between a few Celtic and Hebrew words, equally ill pronounced; and thence conclude that the Jews and the Celts are of the same family. Thus reason is insulted in our universal histories, and the little knowledge we might have of antiquity stifled under a heap of overstrained conjectures.

The Germans nearly resembled the Gauls in their morals: like them they sacrificed human victims; like them they decided their private disputes by single combat; the only difference was, that the Germans were more simple and less industrious than their neighbors. Their families lived in wretched cottages, at one end of which the father, mother, sisters, brothers, and children, lay huddled together, naked, upon straw; while the other end was reserved for their cattle. These, however, are

the same people whom we shall soon see in possession of Rome!

When Cæsar invaded Britain, he found that island still more savage than Germany: the natives were scarcely at the trouble to conceal their nakedness with skins: the women belonged in common to all the men of the same district. They had no other habitations than willow cabins: and the ornaments of both sexes were figures painted on their bodies, by pricking the skin, and pouring in the juice of herbs; an art still practised by the Indians in America.

That human nature was for a long series of ages plunged in this state so nearly resembling that of the brute creation, and even inferior to it in many respects, is a truth but too well confirmed. The reason is this: it is not in the nature of man to desire what he does not know. He required not only a prodigious space of time, but also a number of lucky circumstances for raising himself above the level of mere animal life.

You have, therefore, great reason for resolving to make one stride to those nations which were first civilized. Long before the empires of China and India commenced, perhaps the world produced nations that were knowing, polished, and powerful; and these were, perhaps, in the sequel, plunged again, by deluges of barbarians, into that original ignorance and brutality which is called the state of nature.

The sack of Constantinople was alone sufficient to annihilate the spirit of ancient Greece. The Goths destroyed the genius of the Romans. The coast of Africa, heretofore so rich and flourishing, is nothing now but the haunt of pirates and banditti. Changes still more extraordinary must have happened in less favorable climates. Physical and moral causes must have conjoined; for although the ocean cannot have entirely changed its bed, certain it is, vast tracts of lands have been by turns overflowed and forsaken by the sea. Nature must have been exposed to many plagues and vicissitudes: revolutions must have been frequent; though we are ignorant of these events. With respect to us, mankind is a new species.

Besides, you begin your inquiries at the time when the chaos of Europe begins to assume a form after the fall of the Roman Empire. Let us then make the tour of this globe together: let us see the condition in which it then was, by surveying it in the same manner as it seems to have been civilized; that is, from the eastern countries to these western climes: and let us direct our first attention to a people who had a regular history, written in a language already fixed, at a time when we knew not the use of letters.

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

CHINA: ITS ANTIQUITY, STRENGTH, AND LAWS.

THE empire of China was even then more extensive than that of Charlemagne, especially if we reckon Corea and Tonquin, provinces at that time tributary to the Chinese. It extended thirty degrees in longitude, and four and twenty in latitude. The body of this empire has existed above four thousand years, without having undergone any sensible alteration in its laws, customs, language, or even its fashion of apparel.

Its history, which is incontestable, as being the only records that are founded upon observations of the heavens, is traced back by the surest chronology, to an eclipse calculated two thousand one hundred and fifty-five years before our vulgar era, and verified by the mathematicians belonging to the different missions, who having been sent in these last centuries to that unknown people, have at once admired and instructed them. Father Gaubil examined a succession of six and thirty solar eclipses recorded

in the books of Confucius, and found but two of them doubtful, and two erroneous.

True it is, Alexander sent from Babylon into Greece, the observations of the Chaldæans, ascending four hundred years higher than those of the Chinese; and this is, without contradiction, the fairest monument of antiquity: but these ephemerides of Babylon were not connected with the history of events: on the contrary, the Chinese have joined the history of the heavens to that of the earth, so as to confirm the one by the other. Two hundred and thirty years above the period of that eclipse which we have mentioned, their chronology reaches without interruption, and is confirmed with proofs which they deem authentic, as far as the emperor Hiao, who labored himself in reforming astronomy, and who, through the whole course of a reign that lasted eighty years, continued his endeavors to enlighten and befriend mankind. In China his name is still held in the utmost veneration, like those of Titus, Trajan, and Antoninus, in the annals of Europe. That he was for that time an able mathematician, proves only he was born in a civilized nation. We do not find that the ancient magistrates among the Germans or the Gauls, made any progress in reforming astronomy. Clovis himself had no such convenience as an observatory.

We find six kings preceding the time of Hiao, though the length of their respective reigns is not certainly known. In this silence of chronology, I

think we cannot do better than have recourse to the rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who having compared the number of years during which the kings of the earth swayed the sceptre in different countries, reduces each reign to two and twenty years, at an average. According to this computation, which seems the more reasonable, as it is moderate, those six monarchs must have reigned about one hundred and thirty years: and this supposition is more conformable to the order of nature, than that of two hundred and forty years, for example, assigned to the seven kings of Rome, as well as so many other calculations which have been refuted by the experience of all ages.

The first of these kings, then, whose name was Fouhi, reigned at least five and twenty centuries before the Christian era, at a time when the Babylonians had already collected a succession of astronomical observations; and even then, China was subject to one sovereign. Its fifteen kingdoms, united under one prince, clearly prove that, long before this period, the country was well inhabited, regulated by laws, and divided into a number of sovereignties; for a mighty nation is never formed but of a number of small states: it is the work of policy, courage, and especially of time: there cannot be a more convincing mark of antiquity.

True it is, the tyrant Hoangti ordered all the books of the empire to be burned; but this very stupid and barbarous decree served as a caution to

the people to preserve them carefully; and accordingly they appeared after his death. After all, it is of very little consequence to know whether the chronology contained in those books may be always depended upon. Suppose we did not know precisely the time in which Charlemagne flourished; as we are certain that he made vast conquests with mighty armies, it clearly follows that he was born in a numerous nation, formed in a body, and incorporated in the course of a long succession of ages. Since the emperor Hiao, therefore, who doubtless lived about two thousand four hundred years before our common era, conquered the whole country of Corea, it is beyond all question, that his people were reformed even from the remotest antiquity.

The increase of the human species is not so quick as it is generally imagined. One third part of the children die under ten years of age. Those who have calculated the propagation of mankind, observe, that with very favorable circumstances, a nation will hardly gain a twentieth part in the space of one century; and very often the number of people is rather diminished than increased. This is another proof of the antiquity of China. In the reign of Charlemagne, and long before that period, it was still more populous than extensive. The last computation we know, and that was confined to the fifteen provinces which compose China, properly so called, amounted to nearly sixty millions of sensible men; without including veteran soldiers, old

men above sixty, young men under twenty, the mandarins, the multitude of learned persons, or the bonzes: much less the women, who are everywhere in proportion to the other sex, nearly as fourteen to fifteen, according to the observation of those who have made the most exact calculations touching the human species. At this rate, we can hardly suppose there are fewer than one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants in China. Europe contains little more than a hundred millions, reckoning twenty in France, twenty-two in Germany, four in Hungary, ten in the whole extent of Italy, as far as Dalmatia, eight in Great Britain and Ireland, eight in Spain and Portugal, ten in European Russia, six in Poland, as many in Turkey within Europe, Greece, and the islands, four in Sweden, three in Norway and Denmark, and about that number in Holland and the Low Countries. We must not, therefore, be surprised at the immensity of the Chinese cities; that Pekin, the new capital of the empire, should be nearly six leagues in circumference, and contain about four millions of people; and there was formerly a still greater number in Nankin, the ancient metropolis; or that a million of inhabitants should live in one village called Quientzeng, where the porcelain is manufactured.

The forces of this empire, according to the relations of the most intelligent travellers, consist of a standing army amounting to eight hundred thousand men well paid: five hundred and seventy thousand

horses are maintained, either in the stables or pasture grounds, belonging to the emperor, for the cavalry in war, the journeys of the court, and the use of public courtiers. Several missionaries whom the emperor Canghi, in these latter times, from the love of science, allowed to approach his person, relate that they have attended him in those magnificent hunting excursions into Great Tartary, when one hundred thousand horsemen and sixty thousand infantry marched along in order of battle. This is a custom immemorial in those countries.

The Chinese cities never had any other fortifications than such as common sense dictated to all nations, before the use of artillery, namely: a ditch, rampart, and strong wall with turrets: even since the Chinese began to use cannon, they have not imitated the Europeans in the structure of their fortified places. Other nations have fortified towns: the Chinese have fortified their whole empire. The great wall that separates and divides China from the Tartars, built one hundred and thirty-seven years before Christ, still remains through an extent of five hundred leagues, rising to the tops of mountains, descending over precipices, being almost everywhere twenty feet in thickness, and above thirty feet high; a monument superior to the pyramids of Egypt, both in usefulness and immensity. This bulwark, however, could not hinder the Tartars, in the sequel, from taking advantage of the internal troubles of China, so as to subdue the

empire. But the constitution of it was neither weakened nor changed: the country of the conquerors became part of the empire they had subdued; and the Manchu Tartars, who are now masters of China, have only submitted, sword in hand, to the laws of the country they invaded.

The ordinary revenue of the emperor, according to the most probable calculations, amounts to two hundred millions of ounces of silver. It must be observed, that the ounce of silver is not intrinsically worth one hundred sols, as the history of China asserts: for there is no such thing as intrinsic value in coin: but, rating our silver mark at fifty livres, the sum will amount to twelve hundred and fifty millions of French money, as it stood in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty; I say at this time, because the arbitrary value of money has changed but too often in this kingdom; and perhaps will change again. This is a circumstance not sufficiently considered by writers, who, being more conversant in books than with business, are often very erroneous in their valuation of foreign money. The Chinese had gold and silver coin long before the darics were coined in Persia. The emperor Canghi had a collection of three thousand different coins, among which were several Indian pieces, another proof of the antiquity of the arts in Asia; but, for a long time, gold has not been used as current coin in China; and is now become a commodity, as in Holland. Silver no longer passes current, but

is sold according to its weight and standard: copper is the only coin that maintains an arbitrary value in this country. The government, in hard times, paid in paper; an expedient since used in more than one state of Europe; but the Chinese never made use of public banks, which augment the riches of a nation by multiplying its credit.

This country, the favorite of nature, possesses almost all the fruits which have been transplanted into Europe, and many others which we do not enjoy. Their lands are covered with corn, rice, vines, pulse, and trees of every kind; but the natives never make wine, being satisfied with a kind of liquid which they extract from rice. Those precious insects which produce silk are natives of China, from whence they were conveyed not a great while ago to Persia, together with the art of making stuffs of the down that covers them. These stuffs were so rare, that even in the days of Justinian, silk was sold in Europe for its weight in gold. Fine paper of a shining white has been made by the Chinese from time immemorial, with the fibre of bamboo cane boiled in water. We are ignorant of the era at which they began to manufacture porcelain, and that fine varnish which the Europeans begin to imitate with such success. They have, for these two thousand years, known the art of making glass, though not in such perfection as it has attained in Europe. About the same time they invented the art of printing: this, we know, is the method of engraving letters on

boards of wood, as first practised by Gutenberg at Mentz, in the fifteenth century. It is brought to greater perfection in China, where they have not yet adopted our method of using movable types of cast metal, though greatly superior to theirs; so much are they attached to their old customs. The use of bells, among the Chinese, is of great antiquity. They have made some progress in chemistry; and, without becoming good naturalists, invented gunpowder, though they made no use of it, but at festivals, in fireworks, an art in which they surpassed all other nations. The Portuguese, in these latter ages, taught them the use of artillery; and they learned the art of casting cannon from the Jesuits. Though the Chinese did not exercise their talents in the invention of those destructive instruments, they deserve no praise from that circumstance, as they have maintained wars notwithstanding. They made no further progress in astronomy, than as it is the science of the eyes, and the fruit of patience. They observed the heavens with great assiduity; remarked all the phenomena which appeared, and transmitted them to posterity. They, like us, divided the sun's annual course into three hundred and sixty-five and one-quarter parts: they had a confused idea of the precession of the equinoxes, and the solstices; and, what perhaps is still more remarkable, they divided the months into weeks of seven days. They still show the instruments used by one of their famous astronomers, a thousand years

before the Christian era, in one of their towns which is but of the third order. Nankin, the ancient capital, preserves a brass globe, which three men can hardly clasp in their embrace, sustained upon a cube of copper that opens: into this, a man is introduced to turn the globe, on which they have marked the meridians and parallels. In Pekin, there is an observatory furnished with astrolabes and armillary spheres; instruments, which, though inferior to ours in point of accuracy, serve as illustrious proofs of that superiority which the Chinese maintained over the other nations of Asia. True it is, though they knew the compass, they did not apply it to its proper use of directing the course of vessels at sea. Their navigation was performed along shore. Possessed of a country that supplies all their wants, they have no occasion to roam, like the Europeans, to the ends of the earth. They considered the compass, as well as gunpowder, in the light of simple curiosities; nor were they to be pitied for their simplicity.

It is surprising that this people, so happy at invention, have never penetrated beyond the elements of geometry; that in music they are even ignorant of semitones; and that their astronomy, with all their other sciences, should be at once so ancient and imperfect. Nature seems to have bestowed on this species of men, so different from the Europeans, organs sufficient to discover all at once, what was necessary to their happiness, but

incapable to proceed further: we, on the other hand, were tardy in our discoveries; but then we have speedily brought everything to perfection. The credulity with which those people have always joined the absurdities of judicial astrology to the true theory of the heavens, is not so surprising. That superstition was once common to all mankind: we ourselves have not been long cured of it; so incident is error to the human mind.

If we inquire why so many arts and sciences, so long cultivated without interruption in China, have nevertheless made so little progress, perhaps we shall discover two causes that have retarded their improvement. One is the prodigious respect paid by these people to everything transmitted from their progenitors. This invests whatever is antique with an air of perfection. The other is the nature of their language, which is the first principle of all knowledge. The art of communicating ideas by writing, which should be plain and simple, is with them a task of the utmost difficulty. Every word is represented under a different character; and he is deemed the most learned, who knows the greatest number of characters. Some studious persons among the Chinese have grown old before they could learn to write with facility. What they best know, cultivate the most, and have brought to the greatest perfection, is morality, and the study of law. Filial respect is the foundation of the Chinese government. Paternal authority is never infringed. A son can-

not carry on a process against his father, without the consent of all the relations and friends, and even of the magistrates. The learned mandarins are considered as the parents of the cities and provinces, and the emperor as the common father of the empire. This idea, rooted in their hearts, has formed, as it were, one family of this whole immense community.

All the vices exist here as in other countries, but surely they are more restricted by the curb of laws consistent and uniform. The learned author of "Admiral Anson's Voyage" expresses great contempt for China, because the vulgar at Canton exerted all their artifice to cheat the English. But are we to judge the government of a mighty nation by the morals of the populace in its frontier places? Pray, what would the Chinese have said of us, had they suffered shipwreck on our coasts, when the law of nations in Europe confiscated the effects, and custom authorized the murder of the owners?

The continual ceremonies, which, among the Chinese, lay a restraint on society, and are never omitted, except among particular friends within their respective houses, have established through the whole empire a reserve and decorum, which invest their behavior with an air of gravity and sweetness. These qualities extend even to the lowest of the people. The missionaries relate, that frequently in the public streets, amidst that embarrassment and confusion, which in our country excite such barbarous clamor, and such brutal quarrels,

they have seen the Chinese peasants throw themselves on their knees, to ask pardon of each other for the stop of carriages, which every one laid to his own charge, and mutually assist in disengaging the whole, without noise or tumult.

In other countries, the laws punish the commission of crimes; in China they do more; they recompense the practice of virtue. The report of a generous and rare action being diffused through a province, the mandarin is obliged to give notice of it to the emperor, who bestows some mark of honor upon him who has so well deserved it. This kind of morality, this submission to the laws, joined to the adoration of a Supreme Being, form that religion which is professed by the emperor and learned men of China. The emperor has been high priest from time immemorial. He sacrifices to Tien, the sovereign of heaven and of earth. He is said to be the chief philosopher, and first preacher of the empire. His edicts are generally instructions and lessons of morality.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGION OF CHINA.

Confucius, who flourished two thousand three hundred years ago, a little before the time of Pythagoras, established that religion which is founded upon virtue. He taught and practised it, both in his elevation and humiliation; sometimes prime minister to

a king that was tributary to the emperor: sometimes an exile, fugitive, and indigent. During his life, he had five thousand disciples; and after his death his doctrine was embraced by the emperors, the colao, that is, the mandarins, the men of letters, and all but the lower class of people. His family still survive; and in a country where there is no other nobility than that derived from actual service, it is distinguished from other families, in honor of its founder. To his own memory they pay all honor: not those divine honors to which no man can have any title, but such as are due to a man who communicated the most rational ideas of the divinity, which human nature could conceive without the help of revelation. For this reason, Father Lecomte, and other missionaries affirm, that the Chinese had knowledge of the true God, when other nations were sunk in idolatry; and that they sacrificed to him in the most ancient temple of the universe. The charge of atheism, which in these western regions is so liberally thrown at all who differ from us in point of opinion, has been likewise urged against the Chinese. Yet none but such inconsiderate people as we are, in all our disputes would presume to treat a government as atheistical, which, in almost every edict, mentions "a Supreme Being, the father of all nations, who rewards and punishes according to the rules of eternal justice; and who has established between himself and his creatures, a correspondence of prayers and benefits,

faults and chastisements." Their religion, indeed, does not admit of rewards and punishment to all eternity; and this very circumstance denotes its antiquity. Moses himself, in the Pentateuch, has not mentioned a future state. The Sadducees among the Jews never believed in immortality; and this doctrine did not prevail, until happily established after the incarnation by the Lord of life and death. It is supposed, that the men of letters among the Chinese had no distinct idea of an immaterial God; but it was unjust to infer from thence, that they were atheists. The ancient Egyptians, so famous for their religion, did not worship Isis and Osiris as pure spirits. All the deities of antiquity were adored under a human form; and what shows the flagrant injustice of mankind, even among the Greeks, those were stigmatized with the appellation of atheists, who did not admit of corporeal deities, but in the divinity adored a nature unknown, invisible, and incomprehensible.

The famous archbishop Navarrete says, that according to all the interpreters of the sacred books in China, "the soul is deemed an aerial, igneous particle, which, when separated from the body, is reunited to the substance of the heavens." This is the very opinion of the Stoics, which Virgil has so admirably unfolded in the sixth book of the "Æneid." Now, certain it is, neither the writings of Epictetus, nor the "Æneid," are infected with atheism. We have calumniated the Chinese, merely

because they differ from us in their system of metaphysics. We should rather admire in them two articles of merit, which at once condemn the superstition of the pagans, and the morals of the Christians. The religion of their learned men was never dishonored by fables, nor stained with quarrels or civil wars. In the very act of charging the government of that vast empire with atheism, we have been so inconsistent as to accuse it of idolatry; an imputation that refutes itself. The great misunderstanding that prevails concerning the rites of the Chinese, arose from our judging their customs by our own; for we carry our prejudices, and spirit of contention along with us, even to the extremities of the earth. Genuflexion, which among them is a common compliment, we consider as an act of adoration; we have likewise mistaken a table for an altar: thus we may judge of every other circumstance. We shall see, in its proper place, the manner in which our missionaries were driven from China, by our own divisions and disputes.

Some time before the era of Confucius, Loa-kiun had introduced a sect that believed in evil spirits, enchantments, and other delusions. Another sect, resembling that of Epicurus, was received and opposed in China, five hundred years before Jesus Christ: but, in the first century of our era, that country was deluged by the superstition of the bonzes. They imported from India the idol Fo, or Foe, which was adored under different names, by the

Japanese and the Tartars, as a god that descended upon earth. The worship of this deity was extremely ridiculous and therefore the better adapted for the vulgar. This religion arose in India, about one thousand years before Christ, and infected all the eastern parts of Asia. This was the god which the bonzes preached in China, the talapoins in Siam, and the lamas in Tartary. It is in his name they promise eternal life, and that thousands of bonzes devote their lives to exercises of penance, which are horrible to nature. Some of these enthusiasts lead their lives stark naked and in chains; while others wear huge iron collars that bend their bodies double, and keep their foreheads grovelling in the dust. Their fanaticism is infinitely subdivided. They are supposed to cast out devils, and to work miracles; and they sell absolution to the people. Some mandarins have been reconciled to this sect; and by an infatuation, which proves that the same superstition prevails in every country, they have even been known to undergo the torture as bonzes, from motives of devotion. It is this very sect, which in Tartary, has at its head the Dalai-Lama, a living idol whom they adore; and this, perhaps, is the greatest triumph of human superstition.

The Dalai-Lama, as the successor and vicar of the god Foe, is supposed to be immortal. The priests keep in reserve a young lama, designed in private to succeed the sovereign pontiff, and accordingly he assumes that place, when this, who is deemed

immortal, happens to die. The Tartar princes never speak to him except on the bended knee. He is supreme judge of all points of controversy among the lamas. In a word, he has been for some time established on the throne of Thibet, on the west of China. The emperor receives his ambassadors, and returns the compliment with very considerable presents.

These sects are tolerated in China, for the use of the vulgar, as coarse aliment raised for their subsistence; while the magistrates and persons of education, who are in everything distinguished from the vulgar, feed on a purer substance. Confucius, however, was grieved at this multitude of errors, and at the number of idolaters who prevailed in his time; the sect of Lao-kiun having introduced many superstitions among the common people; insomuch that he expresses himself thus in one of his books: "How comes it that we find the ignorant populace guilty of so many more crimes than the learned? Because the people are governed by their bonzes."

Indeed many of the learned themselves have fallen into the error of materialism: but this has had no effect upon their morality. They think virtue is so necessary to mankind, and so amiable in itself, that there is no need for the knowledge of a God, to make it loved and followed. Besides, we must not imagine that all the Chinese materialists are atheists: the first fathers of our own church believed that God and His angels were corporeal.

It is pretended that about the eighth century, during the reign of Charlemagne, the Christian religion was known in China. We are assured that the missionaries found in the province of Kingsching, an inscription in the Syriac and Chinese characters. This monument, which is to be seen at length in Kircher, attests, that a holy man called Olopüen, conducted by the blue clouds, and observing the blowing of the winds, arrived from Tacin at China in the year 1092 of the era of the Seleucides, answering to the year of Christ 636; that as soon as he reached the suburbs of the imperial city, the emperor sent a colao to receive him, and caused the Christian church to be built for his devotion. This inscription evidently appears to be one of those pious frauds which always meet with too easy credit: the sage Navarrete is of the same opinion. The country of Tacin, the era of the Seleucides, the word Olopüen, which, though said to be Chinese, resembles a Spanish surname, the blue clouds that served as conductors, the Christian church suddenly built at Pekin for a priest of Palestine, that could not set foot in China without incurring the penalties of death: all these circumstances compared, demonstrate the absurdity of the supposition. Those who are at such pains to support it, do not reflect that the priests whose names appear on this pretended monument were Nestorians; and therefore they are only contesting in favor of heretics.

This inscription is of a piece with another found

in Malabar, saying that St. Thomas arrived in that country in the quality of a carpenter, with a rule and stake; and that he carried on his shoulders a huge beam, as a proof of his mission. There is plenty of historical truths, without intermingling such absurd falsities. It is very certain that in the time of Charlemagne, the Christian religion, as well as the nations that professed it, were utterly unknown in China. Jews there certainly were in this empire: several families of that nation, equally vagrant and superstitious, had been settled in China two centuries before the Christian era. There they exercised the profession of courtiers, which the Jews have followed in all parts of the world.

I purposely omit taking a view of Siam, Japan, and all the other countries towards the east and south, until I shall come to speak of that period at which the industry of the Europeans opened an easy way to the extremities of our hemisphere.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIES.

In following the sun's apparent course, I first arrive at India, or Indostan, a country not quite so extensive as China, and better known by the precious commodities which the industry of merchants has at all times imported from it, than by any accurate accounts. An almost continuous chain of mountains seems to have fixed its limits on the side of China,

Tartary, and Persia; and the rest is surrounded by the sea. Nevertheless, India, on this side the Ganges, was long subject to the Persians; therefore Alexander, the avenger of Greece, and conqueror of Darius, extended his conquests as far as the Indian states that were tributary to his enemy. Since the time of that monarch, the Indians have enjoyed their liberty, plunged into an excess of effeminacy, occasioned by the heat of their climate and the richness of their soil.

The Greeks, before Alexander, travelled into India in quest of science. There the celebrated Pilpay, about two thousand three hundred years ago, wrote those moral fables which have been translated into almost every language of the known world. The orientals, and particularly the Indians, treated all subjects under the veil of fable and allegory: for that reason Pythagoras, who studied among them, expresses himself always in parables. The spirit of Pilpay reigned a long time in India. Pachimere, in the thirteenth century, translated several works composed by their sages; of these the following is a very remarkable passage: "I have seen all the sects recriminate upon each other the charge of imposture: I have seen the magi dispute with rage and fury, upon the first principle, and the ultimate end: I have questioned them all, and found in those chiefs of different factions, nothing but inflexible obstinacy, sovereign contempt, and implacable hatred for one another: I am, therefore, resolved to believe

none of their doctrines. These doctors, in their researches after truth, may be compared to a woman who wants to introduce her gallant by a private passage, but cannot find the key of the door. Mankind in their vain inquiries may be likened to him who climbs a tree where he finds a small morsel of honey; but scarce has he eaten it, when he himself is devoured by the dragons that surround the tree which he had ascended." Such was the manner of writing practised among the Indians. Their genius appears still plainer in the games they invented. Of this sort, is the game which we by corruption call chess. It is allegorical, like their fables; and contrived as the image or representation of war. The word "sheck," which is prince, and "pion," that signifies soldier, are still preserved in that part of the East. The arithmetical figures we use, which the Arabians imported into Europe about the time of Charlemagne, are originally derived from India. The antique medals, so much in request among the Chinese virtuosi, may be urged as a proof that the arts were cultivated by the Indians, before they were known in China.

The sun's course was divided into twelve parts from time immemorial. The year of the Brahmins, and of the most ancient gymnosophists, always began when the sun entered the constellation which they call "Moschim," and is known among us by the appellation of Aries. Their weeks always consisted of seven days, a division of which the Greeks were

ignorant; and their days were distinguished by the names of the seven planets. Sunday they denominate "Mitradinam": but it is not yet known whether the word "Mitra," which among the Persians signifies the sun, is originally a term in the language of the magi, or in that of the sages of India. It is very difficult to discover which of these two nations taught the other; but if the question was to decide between India and Egypt, I should conclude that the sciences were much more ancient in the former of these countries. My conjecture is founded on these circumstances: the land of India is much more easily settled than that which borders upon the Nile, whose overflowing must have for a long time thwarted the first inhabitants, before they could master that river by digging canals: besides, the soil of India is of a more varied fertility, which must have greatly excited the curiosity and industry of mankind. Some have imagined that the human race was originally of Indostan, alleging that the most helpless animal would be naturally produced in the gentlest climate; but the origin of almost everything is concealed from our knowledge. Who, for example, will venture to affirm that our climates produced neither insects, herbs, nor trees, when all these were found in the East?

India, in the time of Charlemagne, was known by name only; and the Indians did not know that any such prince existed. The Arabians were solely possessed of maritime commerce, and, at the same time,

supplied Constantinople and the Franks with the commodities of India. The Venetians, indeed, went to fetch them from Alexandria. The consumption of them was not yet considerable in France, among private persons; and they were long unknown in Germany, and all the northern countries. The Romans themselves carried on this traffic as soon as they were masters of Egypt; thus the western nations have always carried their silver and gold into India, increasing the wealth of that country, which was already so rich in its own nature. The Indians being at all times a trading and industrious people, were necessarily subjected to a regular police; and that people whom Pythagoras visited for improvement, must have enjoyed the protection of wholesome laws, without which the arts are never cultivated; but mankind, even in the midst of sensible laws, have always indulged ridiculous customs. That which constitutes the point of honor and religion among the women, inducing them to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands, existed in India from time immemorial, and is not yet abolished. Their philosophers throw themselves alive into funeral piles, through excess of fanaticism and vainglory. Calan, or Calanus, who burned himself in the presence of Alexander, was not the first who set this example. One would imagine that a nation where the philosophers, and even the women, thus devoted themselves to death, must be a warlike and invincible people: nevertheless, every prince that

attacked India has easily subdued it, since the time of the ancient Sezac, known by the name of Bacchus.

It would be very difficult to reconcile the sublime ideas which the Brahmins preserve of the Supreme Being, with their superstition and fabulous mythology, if history did not present the same sort of contradictions among the Greeks and Romans. Some Christians have been settled two hundred years on the coast of Malabar, in the midst of these idolatrous nations. A Syrian merchant, whose name was Mark Thomas, settled on that coast with his family and factors, in the sixth century, and there left his religion, which was Nestorianism. These sectaries, multiplying apace, assumed the name of "the Christians of St. Thomas," and lived peaceably among the idolaters: he that lives quietly is seldom persecuted for his religion. Those Christians were entirely ignorant of the Latin Church.

CHAPTER IV.

PERSIA, ARABIA, AND MAHOMET.

Turning our attention towards Persia, we there find, immediately before the period I have chosen as an era, the most important and sudden revolution that we ever heard of upon earth. A new dominion, religion, and system of morals had entirely changed the face of these countries; and this change extended a great way into Asia, Africa, and Europe. That I may form to myself a just idea of Mahometanism,

which has given a new aspect to so many empires, I will recapitulate those parts of the world that first submitted to its doctrines. Before the time of Alexander, Persia extended her sway from Egypt to Bactria, beyond the country now known by the name of Samarkand, and from Thrace to the river Indus. Though divided and contracted under the Seleucidæ, it increased again under Arsaces the Parthian, about two hundred and fifty years before Christ. The Arsacidæ possessed neither Syria nor the countries bordering on the Euxine Sea: but they disputed the empire of the East with the Romans, to whom they always opposed insurmountable barriers. In the time of Alexander Severus, about the year 226 of the Christian era, a private soldier of Persia, assuming the name of Artaxerxes, conquered this kingdom from the Parthians, and established the Persian empire, in extent nearly the same as it is in these our days. You do not desire to examine in this place who were the first Babylonians the Persians conquered, nor in what manner those people boasted four hundred years of astronomical observations, though no more of these than a succession of nineteen hundred years could be found in the time of Alexander. You have no intention to wander from your subject, with a view to recollect the idea of the greatness of Babylon, and those monuments more specious than solid, whose very ruins are destroyed. No remains of the Asiatic arts challenge, in any degree, our attention, except the ruins of Persepolis

described in several books, and exhibited in a variety of copper plates. I know what admiration has been excited by those fragments that escaped the torches with which Alexander and the courtesan Thais reduced Persepolis to ashes. But shall we give the epithet of a masterpiece of art to this palace, built at the foot of a chain of desert rocks? Certainly, the columns that are still standing, can neither boast of fine proportions nor elegant design. The capitals overloaded with rude ornaments, are almost as high as the shafts of the pillars. All the figures are as hard and heavy as those with which our Gothic churches are still unhappily adorned. They are monuments of greatness, but not of taste; and the whole serves to confirm us in the opinion, that a reader, in confining himself to the history of the arts, would find but four ages in the annals of the world; namely, those of Alexander, Augustus, the Medici, and Louis XIV.

The Persians, however, were always an ingenious people. Locman, the same as Æsop, was born at Casbin. This tradition is much more probable than that which derives him from Ethiopia, a country that never produced philosophers. The maxims of the ancient Zerdusht, called Zoroaster by the Greeks, who have changed all the oriental names, still existed. They are said to be nine thousand years old; for the Persians, as well as the Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese, push back the origin of the world as much as other nations bring it forward. A

second Zoroaster, in the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, did no more than bring this ancient religion to perfection. It is in these maxims that we find the first notions of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of rewards and punishments. There we see an express description of hell. Zoroaster, in the writings preserved by Sadder, feigns that God had indulged him with a sight of hell, and the pains reserved for the wicked: there, among several kings, he perceived one without a foot, and asked of God the reason of this mutilation. God replied: "That wicked king did but one good action in the whole course of his life. Going one day to the chase, he saw a dromedary tethered at such a distance from his trough that he could not reach it so as to eat his provender. He kicked the trough nearer the animal; and that foot I have placed in heaven, the rest of him remains here in hell." This passage which is very little known, shows the kind of philosophy cultivated in those remote times: a species of philosophy always allegorical, and sometimes very profound. The Babylonians were the first who admitted of intermediate beings between God and man. The Jews did not bestow names upon the angels, till the time of their captivity in Babylon. The name of Satan, which first appeared in the Book of Job, is a Persian word; and Job is said to have been of the same country. The word Raphael is used by Tobit, who was captive in Nineveh, and wrote in the Chaldaic language.

The two principles of Zoroaster, Oromasdes, or Ormuzd, the ancient of days, and Ahriman, the genius of darkness, gave birth to the Manichæan doctrine. It is the Osiris and Typhon of the Egyptians; the Pandora of the Greeks, the vain effort of all the sages to explain the origin of good and evil. This theology of the Magi was respected in the East, under all governments; and in the midst of every different revolution, the ancient religion was still maintained in Persia, where neither the gods of the Grecians, nor any other deities ever prevailed.

Nousturvan, or Cosroes the Great, towards the end of the sixth century, had extended his empire into part of Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Felix. From thence he expelled the Abyssinian Christians, by whom it had been invaded. He proscribed Christianity as much as he could within his own dominions, driven to this severity by the treachery of his son-in-law, who embraced the Christian religion, and raised a rebellion against his sovereign. In the last year of this famous king's reign, Mahomet was born at Mecca, in Arabia Petræa, on May 5, 570. His country was at this time involved in war, for the defence of her liberty, against the Persians and the princes of Constantinople, who still retained the name of Roman emperors. The children of Nousturvan the Great, unworthy of such a father, laid waste their own country with civil war and patricide. The successors of the wise Justinian entailed contempt on the name of the empire. Mauritius was

dethroned by the arm of Phocas, reinforced with the intrigues of the patriarch of Cyriaca and other bishops, whom he afterwards punished for having served him so effectually. The blood of Mauritius and his five children had flowed under the hands of the executioner; and Pope Gregory the Great, a bitter enemy to the patriarch of Constantinople, endeavored to gain over the tyrant Phocas to his interests by loading him with the most extravagant praise, and condemning the memory of Mauritius, whom, in his life, he had extravagantly extolled.

The empire of Rome, in the West, was annihilated. A deluge of barbarians, Goths, Heruli, Huns, and Vandals, overflowed Europe, when Mahomet laid the foundation of the Mussulman religion and power, in the deserts of Arabia.

Everybody knows that Mahomet was the younger son of an indigent family; that he was a long time in the service of a woman called Khadijah, who exercised the profession of a merchant in Mecca; that he married his mistress, and lived obscure to the age of forty. It was not till then he displayed those talents which showed him so much superior to all his fellow citizens. He possessed a warm and nervous eloquence, destitute of art and method, such as was necessary to harangue the Arabs; an air of authority and insinuation, animated by piercing eyes, and supported by a happy physiognomy: the intrepidity and liberality of an Alexander, and that sobriety which Alexander wanted to be completely great

in every part of his character. Love, the necessary consequence of a warm constitution, to which he owed so many wives and concubines, neither weakened his courage, his application, nor his health. In this manner he is described by the Arabian writers, who were his contemporaries; and his conduct verifies the picture.

After having made himself entirely acquainted with the character of his countrymen; their ignorance, credulity, and aptitude to enthusiasm, he plainly perceived that he should be able to erect himself into a prophet. He feigned revelations; he uttered predictions; he gained credit with his own family, which was perhaps the most difficult part of his undertaking. In three years he had acquired two and forty disciples who believed in him implicitly. Omar, who had been his persecutor, became his apostle; and at the end of five years the number of these amounted to one hundred and fourteen.

He taught the Arabians, who worshipped the stars, that their adoration was due to God alone, by whom they were created; that the Jewish and Christian books were corrupted and falsified; and therefore ought to be held in abhorrence: that all mankind were obliged, on pain of eternal punishment, to pray five times a day, and give charity: above all things, to acknowledge but one God; to believe in Mahomet as his last prophet; and, in a word, to hazard their lives for their religion. He forbade the use of wine, because the use of it was attended with dangerous

consequences. He retained the rite of circumcision, which had been observed by the Arabians as well as by the ancient Egyptians, instituted, in all probability, to prevent the first powers of manhood from being abused; a practice by which youth is often enervated. He allowed polygamy, a custom immemorial in all eastern countries. He made no alteration in the system of morality, which has always been fundamentally the same in every nation, and which no legislator has presumed to corrupt. In other respects, his religion was more slavish than any other, in its lawful ceremonies, in the number and form of prayers and ablutions. Nothing hampers human nature more than practices it does not require, especially if they must be daily renewed. As a recompense for the righteous, he promised immortality in a future state, where the soul should be intoxicated with spiritual pleasures; and the body, raised again to life with all its faculties, enjoy every sensual delight. This religion is distinguished by the appellation of Islamism, which signifies revelation of the will of God. The book that contains it is entitled the Koran, that is, "the book, the writing, or the reading," by way of excellence.

All the interpreters of this work agree, that the morality it inculcates is contained in these words: "Court those who drive you out; give to those who strip you; forgive those who injure you; do good to all; and never dispute with the ignorant." He should have rather warned his people to avoid dis-

putes with the learned; but, in that part of the world, they never dreamed that any other country was enlightened with science.

Among the incoherent rhapsodies that abound in this book, according to the oriental taste, we find, nevertheless, some instances of the true sublime. Mahomet, for example, speaking of the cessation of the deluge, makes use of these expressions: "God said, earth, swallow up thy waters: heaven, draw up those streams thou hast poured forth. The heaven and the earth obeyed." His definition of God is really sublime. Being asked who was that Allah whom he announced: "He it is who holds his being of himself, and of whom all other beings hold their existence: who neither engenders nor is engendered; and to whom nothing can be likened through the whole extent of being."

True it is, the book is crowded with contradictions, absurdities, and anachronisms. Through the whole of it we perceive a total ignorance of the most simple and best known principles of natural philosophy. This is the touch-stone of the books which the professors of false religion pretend to be written by divine inspiration; for God is neither ignorant nor absurd: yet they are adored by the vulgar, who cannot discern these errors, to palliate which the imams employ a deluge of words.

Some people concluded, from an equivocal passage of the Koran, that Mahomet could neither read nor write; a circumstance which, if true, would have

rendered his success still more prodigious. But it is not at all likely that a man who had been so long in trade should be ignorant of that which was so necessary in traffic. It is still more improbable that a man so well versed in the histories and mythology of his country should be ignorant of that which even the children practised. Besides, the Arabian authors relate that Mahomet on his death-bed called for the implements of writing.

He was persecuted at Mecca, and his flight from that city, which is denominated "hejira," became the era of his glory, as well as the foundation of his empire. From a fugitive he started up a conqueror. While a refugee at Medina, he made converts of the people, and used them for the accomplishment of his designs. He, first of all, with one hundred and thirty men, defeated the inhabitants of Mecca, who marched against him to the number of a thousand. This victory, which appeared a miracle in the eyes of his followers, persuaded them that God fought for them as they fought for his glory. From the first victory they presaged the conquest of the world. Mahomet took Mecca, and saw his persecutors humbled at his feet. In nine years, by his preaching and his arms, he conquered all Arabia, a country as extensive as Persia, which neither the Persians nor the Romans could subdue. In the beginning of his success, he had written to Cosroes II., sovereign of Persia, to the emperor Heraclius, to the prince of the Copts, governor of Egypt, to the

king of the Abyssinians, and to a monarch called Mandar, who reigned over a province in the neighborhood of the Persian gulf. He had the boldness to propose that they should embrace his religion; and what is more astonishing, two of these princes actually turned Mahometans; these were the kings of Abyssinia, and this Mandar. Cosroes tore the letter in a transport of indignation. Heraclius sent valuable presents, by way of answer, to Mahomet. The Coptic prince presented him with a maiden who was deemed a masterpiece of nature, and known by the epithet of the "Beautiful Mary."

Mahomet, at the expiration of nine years, believing himself strong enough to extend his conquests and religion among the Greeks and Persians, began with an invasion of Syria, at that time subject to Heraclius, from whom he wrested divers cities. This emperor, intoxicated with metaphysical disputes concerning religion, who had espoused the doctrine of the Monothelites, received, almost at the same time two very singular proposals; one from Cosroes, by whom he had been long subdued, and the other from Mahomet. The first insisted upon his embracing the religion of the Magi, and Mahomet expressed his desire that he should become a Mussulman.

The new prophet left it to the option of those he conquered, either to profess his religion or pay a tribute, which was regulated by the Koran at thirteen drachms of silver annually for every head of a family. Such a moderate tax plainly proves, that

the people who submitted were extremely poor: but the tribute has been greatly increased since that period. Of all the legislators who have founded religions, he alone extended his by dint of conquest. Other nations have introduced their worship among their neighbors with fire and sword; but no founder of a sect was at the same time a conqueror. This privilege alone is, in the eyes of Mussulmans, an incontestable proof that the Deity took especial care to assist the efforts of their prophet.

At length Mahomet, having made himself master of Arabia, and formidable to all his neighbors, was attacked by a mortal distemper at Medina, in the sixty-fourth year of his age; and resolving that his last moments should denote the hero and the saint, exclaimed: "Let him whom I have injured or oppressed appear, and I am ready to make reparation." A man stood up, and demanded payment of a sum that was due to him from the prophet: Mahomet ordered it to be paid immediately, and in a little time expired, respected as a great man, even by those who knew he was an impostor; and revered as a prophet by the balance of his countrymen.

His contemporaries of Arabia wrote very circumstantial details of his life. The whole savors strongly of the barbarous simplicity of the times called "heroic." His contract of marriage with his first wife is expressed in these terms: "While Khadijah continues to love Mahomet, and is in like manner beloved of him." We find a minute descrip-

tion of the banquets which his wives prepared, with the very names of his swords and horses. One may observe through the whole character of his people, a strong conformity in manners with the ancient Hebrews. I speak only of manners; the same ardor to engage in battle in the name of the Lord, the same thirst after plunder, the same division of the spoil, and every part of their conduct pointing towards this object.

But without considering any other than human circumstances, and leaving out of account the judgments of God, and the mysterious ways of Providence, we may ask why Mahomet and his successors, who began their conquests precisely in the manner of the Jews, were so much superior to them in their achievements and success? Was not the difference owing to the different conduct of the two nations? The Mussulmans exerted their chief care in subjecting the vanquished to their religion, sometimes by force, and sometimes by dint of persuasion. The Hebrews, on the contrary, never admitted foreigners into a participation of their worship. The Arabian Mussulmans always incorporated other nations with their own: the Hebrews carefully secluded themselves from every other people. In a word, the Arabians seem to have possessed a more courageous enthusiasm, with a bolder and more generous policy. The Hebrews looked with horror on all other nations, in the apprehension of being enslaved: whereas the people of Arabia endeavored to attract

everything, and believed themselves created for dominion. Mahomet's last will was not executed. He had bequeathed the empire to his son-in-law Ali, and daughter Fatima: but ambition, which even transcends fanaticism, engaged the chiefs of the army to declare old Abu-Beker, his father-in-law, caliph, that is, vicar of the prophet, in hope of being soon able to share the succession among themselves. Ali, meanwhile, remained in Arabia, waiting for an opportunity to signalize his talents.

Abu-Beker's first step was to collect, in one volume, the scattered sheets of the Koran; the chapters of the book were read in presence of all the chiefs, and its authenticity was invariably established. In a little time Abu-Beker marched at the head of his Mussulmans into Palestine, where he defeated the brother of Heraclius. He died soon after this victory, with the reputation of the most generous man alive. For his own share of the booty, which was divided, he never took more than about twenty pence a day, thereby demonstrating how well a contempt of low self-interest will agree with that ambition which self-interest of a higher order inspires.

Abu-Beker is esteemed among the Mahometans as a great character and a faithful Mussulman: he is reckoned one of the saints of the Koran. The Arabians record that his last will was couched in these terms: "In the name of God most merciful, this is the last will of Abu-Beker, made at a time when he is about to pass from this world to the

next; at a time when infidels begin to believe, when the wicked cease to doubt, and the liar tells the truth." This seems to be the preamble of a man who was really convinced; yet Abu-Beker, as the father-in-law of Mahomet, had opportunities of examining the prophet nearly. He must either have been deceived himself, or acted as accomplice in an illustrious imposture, which he looked upon as a necessary fraud. The rank he maintained obliged him to support at his death what in his lifetime he had imposed on his fellow creatures.

Omar, chosen his successor, was one of the most rapid conquerors that ever ravaged the face of the earth. His first exploit was the reduction of Damascus, famous for the fertility of its soil, for its steel manufactures, the best in the world, and the silk stuffs that still bear its name. The Greeks, who assumed the name of Romans, he drove from Syria and Phœnicia. After a long siege, he, by capitulation, got possession of Jerusalem, which had been almost always in the hands of foreigners, from the time when David wrested it from its ancient possessors.

At the same period, Omar's lieutenants advanced into Persia. The last of the Persian kings, whom we call Hormizdas IV., gives battle to the Arabians within a few leagues of Madain, the capital of their empire. He loses the battle with his life; and the Persians acknowledge the dominion of Omar, even more easily than they had formerly submitted to the

yoke of Alexander. Then fell that ancient religion of the Magi, which had been respected by the conqueror of Darius; for he never encroached upon the religion of the nations whom he subdued.

The Magi adored one God, were enemies to idolatry, and revered the fire that animates nature, as an emblem of the Deity. They looked upon their own worship as the most ancient and pure of all religions. Their knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, and history, increased their contempt for their conquerors, who were at that time extremely ignorant. They could not abandon a religion consecrated through so many ages for the upstart sect of their enemies. The greater part of them retired to the confines of Persia and India: there they live at this day, under the denomination of Gaures or Guebers, marrying only among themselves, maintaining the sacred fire, and faithfully attached to all they know of their ancient worship; but altogether ignorant, despised, and, except in their poverty, resembling the Jews, so long dispersed, without mingling in alliance with other nations: but they may be still more properly compared to the Banians, who are established and dispersed in no other countries but Persia and India. A great number of Gueber families, or Ignicolæ, remained at Ispahan, till the reign of Shah Abbas, who banished them in the same manner as Isabella expelled the Jews from Spain. These Ignicolæ have for a long time anathematized Alexander and Mahomet in their prayers; in all prob-

ability they now extend their curses to Shah Abbas also.

While one of Omar's lieutenants subdues Persia, another conquers from the Romans the whole country of Egypt, and great part of Libya. It was in the course of this war that they burned the famous library at Alexandria, a monument of the knowledge, as well as of the errors, of mankind, begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and augmented by such a number of monarchs. At that time the Saracens rejected all science but what was contained in the Koran; but they had already demonstrated that their genius was capable of extending to every subject. Their undertaking to renew the old canal first dug by the kings of Egypt, and afterwards repaired by Trajan, for joining the Nile and the Red Sea, was an enterprise worthy of the most enlightened ages. A governor of Egypt undertakes, and even accomplishes this great work in the caliphate of Omar. What a wide difference between the genius of the Arabians, and that of the Turks! These last have let a work run to ruin, the preservation of which was of greater consequence than the conquest of a mighty province.

The success of that conquering people seems rather to have been owing to the enthusiasm by which they were animated, and to the spirit of the nation in general, than to the ability of their conductors; for Omar was assassinated in the year 603, by a Persian slave, and Otman, his successor, met

with the same fate in an insurrection that happened in 655. Ali, the celebrated son-in-law of Mahomet, is not elected to the sovereign power until the state is involved in troubles. Like his predecessors, he is murdered in five years; and in the meantime the Mussulman arms are always prosperous. This Ali, whom the Persians revere at this day, and whose principles they follow in opposition to those of Omar, at length obtains the caliphate, and transfers the seat of the caliphs from Medina, where Mahomet is buried, to Coussa, on the banks of the Euphrates, a city of which scarce any ruins now remain. This was the fate of Babylon, Seleucia, and all the ancient cities of Chaldæa, which were wholly built of bricks.

It is very evident that the genius of the Arabians, set in motion by Mahomet, did everything by dint of its own strength for the space of near three centuries; thus resembling the genius of the ancient Romans. Nay, it was in the reign of Valid, the most unwarlike of all the caliphs, that their greatest conquests were achieved. One of his generals, in the year 707, extended his empire as far as Samarkand. Another, at the same time, invaded the empire of the Greeks, towards the Black Sea. A third, in the year 711, sailed from Egypt into Spain, a country which has been with ease subdued successively by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, and Vandals, and at length by these Arabs, who were known by the appellation of Moors. There they at first

founded the kingdom of Cordova. The sultan of Egypt indeed shook off the yoke of the great caliph of Bagdad; and Abd-er-Rahman, governor of Spain, which he had conquered, no longer acknowledged the sultan of Egypt; but for all that, it was to the arms of the Mussulmans that all those successes were owing.

This Abd-er-Rahman, the grandson of Caliph Hesham, subdued the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal, and Aragon. He made a settlement in Languedoc, became master of Guienne and Poitou; and had not Charles Martel deprived him of his good fortune and his life together, France would have been a Mahometan province.

After the reigns of nineteen caliphs of the house of the Ommiades, the long dynasty of the Abbassides began about the year 752 of the Christian era: Abougiafar Almanzor, the second caliph of this race, located the seat of that great empire at Bagdad in Chaldæa, on the other side of the river Euphrates. The Turks say he laid the foundation of this city; the Persians assure us it was of great antiquity, and that he did no more than order it to be repaired. This is the city which is sometimes called Babylon, and has been the source of so many wars between Persia and Turkey.

The dominion of the caliphs lasted 655 years. Though despotic in religion as well as in government, they were never worshipped like the Grand Lama; but they enjoyed a more substantial author-

ity; and even in the times of their decay they met with respect from those princes by whom they were persecuted. All the sultans, whether Turks, Arabians, or Tartars, received the investiture from the caliphs, with much less dispute than many Christian princes have had with the pope on the same subject. They did not kiss the caliph's feet, but they prostrated themselves upon the threshold of his palace.

If ever power threatened the whole earth with subjection, it was that of the caliphs; for they possessed the right of the throne, and of the altar; of the sword, and of the spirit; their orders were received as oracles, and their soldiers were so many desperate enthusiasts. In the year 671, they besieged Constantinople, which was doomed to be one day a Mahometan capital, and the almost inevitable dissensions among so many ferocious chiefs, did not stop the course of their conquests. In this particular they resembled the ancient Romans, who in the midst of their civil wars subdued the country of Asia Minor.

The politeness of the Mahometans increased with their power. Those caliphs, still acknowledged sovereigns in religion, and as apparent heads of the empire, even by those distant princes who no longer obeyed their orders, lived quietly in their new Babylon, and the arts soon revived under their countenance and protection. Haroun-al-Raschid, contemporary with Charlemagne, and more respected than

any of his predecessors, whose commands were obeyed in Spain, and in the Indies, reanimated the sciences, taught the agreeable and useful arts to flourish, invited learned men into his empire, composed verses, and took such measures, that, throughout his vast dominions, barbarity gave way to politeness. In his reign, the Arabians, who had already adopted the Indian ciphers, imported them into Europe. In Germany and France, we had no other knowledge of astronomy but what we learned of the same people. The single word almanac is still a proof of this assertion.

The "Almagest" of Ptolemy was at that time translated from the Greek into the Arabic language, by the astronomer Benhonain. The caliph Al-Mamun caused a degree of the meridian to be measured geometrically, in order to determine the magnitude of the earth; an operation which was not performed in France till nine hundred years after this period, in the reign of Louis XIV. The same astronomer Benhonain made considerable progress in his observations: he discovered that either Ptolemy had fixed the sun's utmost declination too far northwards, or that the obliquity of the ecliptic was changed: he even perceived that the period of thirty-six thousand years, assigned for the revolution of the fixed stars from east to west, must be considerably abridged.

Chemistry and medicine were carefully cultivated by the Arabians. Chemistry, which among us is now brought to perfection, we learned from them, and

them only; to them we owe the new remedies termed minoratives, more gentle and salutary than those formerly used in the schools of Hippocrates and Galen. In a word, even in the second century after Mahomet, the Christians of the West received all their instructions from the Mussulmans.

One infallible proof of the superiority of a nation in the arts that depend upon genius, is their bringing the culture of poetry to perfection. I do not mean those inflated and bombastic metaphors, consisting of insipid, commonplace allusions to the sun, moon, stars, seas, and mountains; but that sort of sensible and energic poetry which flourished in the Augustan age, and revived in the reign of Louis XIV. That poetry, composed of image and sentiment, was well known in the time of Haroun-al-Raschid. Among other striking passages, I shall quote the following, because it is short; it turns upon the celebrated story of the misfortunes that befell Giafar, one of the Barmecides:

> "Frail mortal, with presumptuous pride,
> By Fortune's treacherous gifts elate,
> Behold the end of Barmecide,
> And tremble at thy prosperous fate."

The last line is literally translated; and nothing, in my opinion, can be more beautiful than this apothegm: "Tremble at thy own prosperity." The Arabic language had the advantage of having been long brought to perfection: it was fixed before the time of Mahomet, and has not been altered since

that period. There is not the least trace remaining of any jargon that was spoken at that time in Europe. To which side soever we turn, it must be confessed that we are but of yesterday: we have made greater progress than other people, in more than one art and science; perhaps we proceed the faster, because we began so late.

CHAPTER V.

ITALY AND THE CHURCH BEFORE THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

NOTHING is more worthy of our curiosity than the manner in which God brought about the establishment of His Church, by making second causes coincide and concur with His eternal decrees. Let us leave, with the utmost reverence, the divine part in the hands of those with whom it is deposited, and confine ourselves solely to that which is historical. The disciples of St. John established themselves at first in Arabia, the neighboring country to Jerusalem; but the disciples of Christ dispersed themselves over the face of the earth. The Platonic philosophers of Alexandria, where there was such a number of Jews, associated themselves with the first Christians at Rome, in the reign of Nero; and these were confounded with the Jews, because they were in effect their countrymen, spoke the same language, and abstained, like them, from those meats that were forbidden by the law of Moses; nay, many of them

were actually circumcised, and observed the Sabbath.

The number of the Jews that still remained at Rome amounted to four thousand. There had been double that number in the time of Augustus, but Tiberius transported one-half to Sardinia, in order to people that island, and diminish the number of usurpers at Rome. Far from being restricted in their worship, they enjoyed that toleration which the Romans freely granted to all religions; they were even allowed to have synagogues, and judges of their own nation, privileges which they enjoy at this day in modern Rome, where they are still more numerous. Their hatred of the Christians was implacable. They accused them of being the authors of the conflagration that destroyed one-half of Rome in the reign of Nero. It was as unjust to accuse the Christians of that accident as to impute it to the emperor. Neither he, nor the Christians, nor the Jews could have any interest in burning the city of Rome: but there was a necessity for appeasing the people that rose against the foreigners, who were equally hated by Jews and Romans. Some unfortunate wretches were sacrificed as victims to the vengeance of the populace. This transient outrage, however, should not be reckoned among the persecutions they underwent for their faith; it had no affinity with their religion, which was not known, and which the Romans confounded with Judaism, a religion which their laws protected. True it is, the

antiquarians have found in Spain certain inscriptions in which Nero is thanked for having abolished a new superstition in that province; but the authenticity of these monuments is very much doubted. Allowing them to be authentic, they do not mention Christianity; and even if these cruel monuments relate to Christians, to what are they to be ascribed, but to the jealousy of the Jews settled in Spain, who abhorred Christianity as an enemy engendered in their own bosoms? We will carefully avoid all attempts to remove that impenetrable obscurity which veils the cradle of the infant church; a veil which learning itself has only served to double.

What we are assured of is, that it never was the genius of the Roman senate to persecute any person for his faith; and that none of the emperors had the least intention to compel the Jews to change their religion, neither after the revolt under Vespasian, nor in consequence of that which broke out in the reign of Adrian. Their worship indeed was always insulted and ridiculed, and statues were erected in the temple before it was destroyed; but it never entered into the head of any emperor, proconsul, or Roman senate, to hinder the Jews from believing their own law. This circumstance only serves to show what scope Christianity had to extend itself in secret.

None of the Cæsars, before Domitian, ever disturbed the Christians. Dio Cassius tells us, that under this emperor some persons were condemned as

atheists, and as imitating the Jewish customs: but this disturbance, about which we are so much in the dark, was neither general nor of long duration. We know precisely neither the reasons for which some Christians were banished, nor those for which they were recalled. What credit can we give to Tertullian, who, upon the faith of Hegesippus, seriously relates that Domitian interrogated the grandchildren of the apostle St. Jude, of the race of David, whose right to the throne of Judæa began to make him uneasy; but that, perceiving they were indigent and miserable, he desisted from further persecution? Had it been possible, that a Roman emperor should dread the pretended descendants of David, even after Jerusalem was destroyed, his policy would have been directed to the Jews, and not to the Christians; but how can we suppose that he, who was master of all the known world, should feel disquietude about the pretensions which two of the grandchildren of St. Jude might have to the kingdom of Palestine; and that he should question them on the subject? Unhappily, in this manner has history been written by a great number of authors, whose piety was much preferable to their materials and understanding.

Nerva, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines never persecuted the Church. Trajan, who had forbidden private associations, writes to Pliny, "Let no inquiries be made against the Christians." These essential words, "no inquiry," prove that it was in their power to conceal and support

themselves with a little discretion, though the zeal of priests, and the hatred of the Jews often dragged them to trial, and exposed them to punishment. They were rancorously hated by the populace, especially in the provinces, who excited the magistrates against them, and loudly exclaimed that they should be exposed to wild beasts in the circus. Adrian not only forbade Fondanus, the proconsul of Asia Minor, to persecute them, but his decree imports, "If the Christians are slandered, let the calumniator be severely chastised." From this instance of Adrian's justice, some have fondly believed that he was a Christian, but can we suppose that he, who built a temple to Antinous, would raise another to Jesus Christ?

Marcus Aurelius ordained that the Christians should not be prosecuted on the score of religion, and they were openly protected by Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Philippus, and Gallienus. They had all this time, therefore, to extend and fortify their infant church. They held five councils in the first century, sixteen in the second, and thirty-six in the third. We learn from ecclesiastical history that even at this period the altars were extremely magnificent: that some of them were adorned with columns of silver, weighing together three thousand marks: that the chalices were made after the model of the Roman cups, and the patens, or covers, of beaten gold. The Christians enjoyed such uncommon indulgences, in spite of the clamor and persecuting spirit

of their enemies, that, in several provinces they had churches built upon the ruins of heathen temples which had been demolished. This circumstance is owned by Origen and St. Cyprian; and the Church must have long enjoyed uninterrupted peace, seeing these two great men already reproached their contemporaries with luxury, effeminacy, and avarice, the consequences of affluence and repose. St. Cyprian expressly complains that divers bishops, neglecting the holy examples they had before their eyes, "accumulated great sums of money, enriched themselves by usury, and obtained estates by fraud:" these are his very words; an evident proof of the happy tranquillity they enjoyed under the Roman laws. The abuse of anything plainly demonstrates the existence of it.

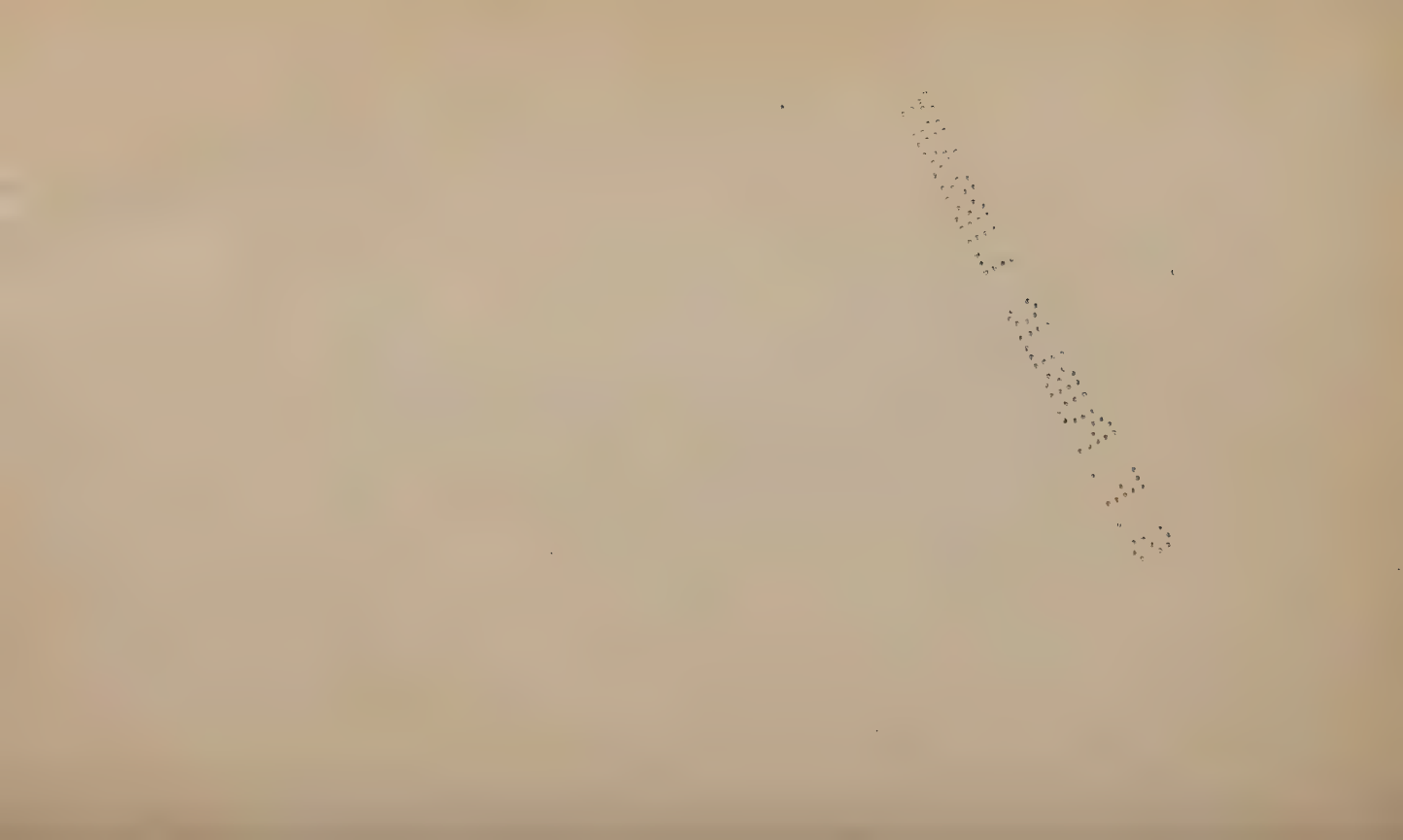
The persecution of the Christians under Decius, Maximin, and Diocletian, was founded on reasons of state. Decius hated them because they favored the family of Philippus, suspected, though erroneously, of being a Christian himself: Maximin persecuted them because they supported Gordianus; but they enjoyed the most extensive liberty, for a series of twenty years, in the reign of Diocletian. At length, in the year 303, Cæsar Galerius, their inveterate enemy, persuaded Diocletian to give orders for demolishing the cathedral of Nicomedia, which was built opposite the emperor's palace: a Christian tore the edict in public, and was punished for his presumption. In a few days after this incident, part of

the palace of Galerius was destroyed by fire, and the Christians were accused as incendiaries: nevertheless, they were not condemned to the pains of death; it was only decreed that their churches and books should be burned and that their persons should be deprived of all dignity. Until that time Diocletian never had the least intention to lay them under constraint in matters of religion. He had, after his victory over the Persians, issued edicts against the Manichæans, who were attached to the interests of Persia, and secret enemies to the Roman Empire. Reasons of state were the sole cause of these edicts. Had they been dictated by religious zeal, a kind of zeal with which conquerors are very seldom inspired, the Christians would have been included; but they were not. Consequently they had twenty years to strengthen their interest, under this very Diocletian, and were not maltreated, except during two years of his reign; besides, Lactantius, Eusebius, and the emperor Constantine himself, impute these violences to Galerius alone, and not to Diocletian. Indeed it is not at all probable that a man who had philosophy enough to renounce the empire should show so little as to become a fanatic persecutor. Diocletian is, for the most part, ignorantly represented as an enemy ever in arms against the faithful, and his reign as a continual massacre; but nothing can be more contrary to truth. The era of martyrs, which begins at his accession, should not, therefore, have commenced until two years before his abdication,

for no person suffered martyrdom during the first twenty years of his reign.

The story of his having quitted the empire out of vexation because he had not been able to abolish Christianity is a contemptible fiction. Had he been really such a persecutor he would, on the contrary, have continued to reign, that he might have had an opportunity to destroy it in earnest, and if he was compelled to abdicate, as it is alleged without any sort of proof, he did not quit the reins of empire from chagrin or regret. The vain pleasure of recording extraordinary incidents and increasing the number of martyrs has induced writers to add false and incredible persecutions to those that were but too true. They pretend that under the reign of Diocletian, in the year 297, Maximian Herculius, Cæsar, doomed to martyrdom the whole Theban legion, consisting of six thousand six hundred Christians, who were sent into the midst of the Alps, where they allowed themselves to be massacred, without murmuring at their fate. This story, so much celebrated, was not written until nearly two hundred years after the supposed event, by the abbot Eukerus, who related it from hearsay. Granting there actually was such a legion as the Theban, or Thebean, a circumstance that is very doubtful, is it probable that Maximian Herculius should, as is reported, recall them from the East to appease a sedition which happened among the Gauls? Wherefore should he deprive himself of six thousand six hundred good

DIOCLETIAN



soldiers, for whom he had immediate occasion, to quell this sedition? How happened they to be all Christians, without exception? Wherefore murder them on the route. Who were the persons at whose hands they suffered martyrdom? To what purpose should this butchery be enacted, at a time when there was no persecution, at an era when the Church enjoyed the most profound tranquillity, when under the very eye of Diocletian, even in Nicomedia, opposite his own palace, the Christians had built a superb cathedral? "The profound peace and perfect liberty which we enjoy," says Eusebius, "is the occasion of our being remiss in our duty." Is this profound peace, this perfect liberty, consistent with the massacre of six thousand six hundred soldiers? If this incredible fact had been true, would Eusebius have passed it over in silence? So many true martyrs have sealed the gospel with their blood that their glory should not be shared with those who did not share their sufferings; certain it is, Diocletian, in the last two years of his reign, and Galerius, for some years after, persecuted with great violence the Christians of Asia Minor and the neighboring countries. But in Spain, Gaul, and England, which were then in the division of Constantius Chlorus, far from being proscribed, they saw their religion the prevailing faith; and Eusebius says that Maxentius, who was elected emperor at Rome in the year 306, persecuted no person. The Christians effectually served Constantius Chlorus, whose wife Helena publicly embraced

their religion; then they formed a considerable party in the state. Their money and their arms contributed largely in raising Constantine to the purple; for this reason they became odious to the senate and the people of Rome, as well as to the prætorian cohorts, who universally declared for Maxentius, his competitor for the empire. Our historians stigmatize Maxentius with the name of tyrant, because he was unfortunate: certain it is, however, he was the true emperor, as having been proclaimed by the senate and people of Rome.

The reign of Constantine is a glorious era for religion, which it crowned with triumph. There was no occasion to intermingle prodigies, such as the apparition of the labarum in the clouds, without once mentioning in what country that standard appeared: there was no necessity to relate that the guards of the labarum were invulnerable. The shield of Egeria that fell from heaven in ancient Rome, the oriflamme brought to St. Denis by an angel, and all such imitations of the Palladium of Troy serve only to debase truth with an air of fiction. Divers learned antiquarians have sufficiently refuted these errors, which philosophy disavows, and which true criticism must always destroy. Let us confine our attention to a view of those incidents, in consequence of which Rome ceased to be the metropolis of the empire.

Constantine, who was elevated to the Imperial throne against the inclinations of the Romans, could

not be agreeable to that people. It is very evident, that the murder of Licinius, his brother-in-law, in violation of the most solemn oaths; the death of Licinianus, his nephew, murdered at twelve years of age; the fate of his father-in-law Maximin, butchered by his order at Marseilles; of his own son Crispus, whom he put to death, after he had gained him several battles; and of his wife Fausta, stifled in a hot bath; must have created an abhorrence, which could not allay the hatred of his subjects. And this is probably the reason that induced him to transfer the seat of empire to Byzantium. We find, in the code of Theodosius, an edict of Constantine, in which he declares, that he founded Constantinople by the express command of God: thus, in order to silence the murmurs of his people, he feigned a revelation. This single circumstance is sufficient to make us acquainted with his real character. Our greedy curiosity would fain penetrate through the interior recesses in the heart of a man like Constantine, who, in a little time, altered the whole economy of the Roman Empire; the residence of the sovereign, the manners of the court, the customs, language, apparel, government, and religion. How shall we discern the real character of a prince, whom one party has described as the most criminal, and the other as the most virtuous of mankind? If we suppose he made everything subservient to what he thought his own interest, we shall not be mistaken.

To know whether the ruin of the empire was

really owing to Constantine, will be an inquiry, in all respects, worthy of your understanding. It plainly appears that he was the ruin of Rome: but, in transporting the throne to the Thracian Bosphorus, he formed in the East considerable barriers against the irruptions of those Barbarians, who, in the reigns of his successors, deluged Europe, and found Italy without defence: he seems to have sacrificed the West as a victim for the East. Italy fell when Constantinople arose. The political history of those times would be a study at once curious and instructive: at present, in lieu of history, we have scarcely anything but satire and panegyric. Even by means of panegyric we are sometimes enabled to investigate the truth. Constantine, for example, is extolled to the skies, for having exposed to wild beasts, in the circus, all the chiefs of the Franks, and the prisoners he took in an expedition to the Rhine: such was the treatment offered to the predecessors of Clovis and Charlemagne. The writers who have been so base as to applaud cruel actions have at least established the facts, and sensible readers judge of them by the light of their own understanding. The most circumstantial part in the history of this revolution is that which relates to the establishment of the Church, and the troubles to which it was exposed.

It is melancholy reflection, that scarcely had the Christian religion ascended the throne, than the holiness of it was profaned by Christians unworthy of the name, who blindly followed the dictates of

revenge, even at a time when their triumph over all their enemies ought to have inspired them with the spirit of peace. In Syria and Palestine, they massacred all the magistrates who had been severe in executing the laws against them; they drowned the wife and daughter of Maximin, and his sons and relatives perished by the most cruel torments. The disputes about the consubstantiability of the world involved mankind in confusion and bloodshed: in a word, Ammianus Marcellinus says the Christians of his time attacked one another like wild beasts. Great virtues they doubtless had, of which Ammianus has taken no notice: these are always concealed from the eyes of an enemy, while one's vices appear in the most conspicuous point of view.

The Church of Rome was preserved from these crimes and misfortunes; at first, she had neither power nor blemish, but remained a long time quiet and discreet in the midst of an idolatrous senate and people. In that capital of the known world were seven hundred temples, great and small, dedicated to the gods "*majorum et minorum gentium.*" These existed even to the reign of Theodosius; and long after him, the people of the country persisted in their ancient worship. Hence the followers of the old religion acquired the appellation of Pagans, of Pagani, from the little towns called Pagi, where idolatry was allowed to exist even to the eighth century.

We know very well the imposture on which Con-

stantine's donation is founded: but we cannot conceive how such an imposture should have been so long credited: those who denied it were frequently punished in Italy and in other countries. Who, for example, could imagine that even so late as the year 1478, divers persons should have been committed to the flames for having opposed this error?

Constantine certainly granted, not to the bishop of Rome only, but to the cathedral, which was the church of St. John, one thousand marks of gold, and thirty thousand of silver, with fourteen thousand sols annually, and certain lands in Calabria: this patrimony was augmented by every succeeding emperor; and the bishops of Rome stood in need of such assistance. The missionaries whom they sent into those parts of Europe where the pagan worship prevailed, the bishops expelled from their sees, to whom they afforded an asylum, and the great number of poor whom they maintained, absolutely required very great revenues. The credit of the rank, which was superior to all wealth, soon rendered the pastors of the Christians at Rome, the most considerable men of the western world. True piety condescended to accept of this ministry, but ambition intrigued for it; so that the papal chair became the subject of violent disputes: even as early as the middle of the fourth century, the consul Prætextatus, who was a heathen, said: "If you will make me bishop of Rome, I will make myself a Christian."

Nevertheless, this bishop had no other power than that which arose from his personal virtue, credit, or intrigue, under favorable circumstances. No pastor of the Church ever enjoyed any civil jurisdiction, much less the rights of regality. Not one of them had what is called the "*jus terrendi,*" neither the right of territory, nor the power of pronouncing, "*do, dico, abdico.*" The emperors still continued the supreme judges in everything but points of doctrine. They even convoked councils. At Nice, Constantine received and determined the mutual complaints and accusations which the bishops brought against each other. The title of sovereign pontiff was still attached to the empire. When the Goths took possession of Rome after the Heruli, when the famous Theodoric, not less powerful than Charlemagne was in the sequel, had established the seat of his empire at Ravenna, in the beginning of the sixth century, without arrogating to himself the title of emperor of the West, which it was in his power to assume, he exercised over the Romans precisely the same power which the Cæsars had enjoyed: he preserved the senate; he allowed liberty of conscience; the orthodox Christians, Arians, and Idolaters, were equally subject to the civil laws: he judged the Goths by the Gothic, the Romans by the Roman law: he presided by his commissaries at the elections of bishops: he prohibited simony, and appeased schisms. When two popes disputed the episcopal chair, he appointed Symmachus; and

this very Symmachus being accused, he tried him by his "*Missi Dominici.*"

His son Athalaric regulated the elections of the popes, as well as of all the other metropolitans in his different kingdoms, by an edict that was always observed; an edict which was digested by his minister, Cassiodorus, who afterwards retired to Monte Cassino, and embraced the rule of St. Benedict; an edict to which Pope John II. submitted without hesitation. When Belisarius came to Italy and reduced it under the imperial power, it is well known that he banished Pope Silverius, and in so doing did not exceed the bounds of his authority, though perhaps he transgressed the rules of justice. Belisarius, and afterwards Narses, having rescued Rome from the yoke of the Goths, Italy was deluged by other barbarians, such as the Gepidæ, Franks, and Germans. The whole western empire was ravaged, and became a prey to savage nations. The Lombards extended their dominion through all that was called "*Italia Citerior.*" Alboin, the founder of that new dynasty, was no other than a barbarous freebooter, but the victors soon adopted the manners, politeness, language, and religion of the vanquished. This was not the case with the first Franks and the Burgundians, who brought into Gaul their own unpolished language, and their manners, that were still more rustic.

The Lombard nation was at first composed of Pagans and Arians. About the year 640, their king,

Rotharis, published an edict, granting liberty of conscience to the professors of all religions, so that in almost every town of Italy there was a Catholic bishop and an Arian bishop, who allowed the idolaters, still scattered among the villages, to live in quiet.

The kingdom of Lombardy extended from Piedmont to Brindisi, and the territory of Otranto; it comprehended Benevento, Bari, and Tarentum, but did not include Apulia, Rome, nor Ravenna. These countries still remained annexed to the feeble empire of the East. The Church of Rome had therefore been transferred from the dominions of the Goths to that of the Greeks. An exarch governed Rome in the name of the emperor, but he did not reside in that city, which was almost abandoned to her own will. His residence was at Ravenna, from which place he sent his orders to the duke or prefect of Rome, and to the senators, who were still honored with the name of "*Patres conscripti.*" The form of the municipal government still existed in this ancient capital, so deplorably fallen to decay, and the republican spirit was never quite extinguished. These principles were sustained by the example of Venice, a republic first founded by fear and misery, and in a little time raised by courage and commerce. Venice was already so powerful that even in the eighth century she re-established the exarch Scholasticus, who had been expelled from Ravenna.

What then was the situation of Rome, in the seventh and eighth centuries? That of an unfortunate city, poorly defended by the exarchs, continually exposed to the threats of the Lombards, and ever acknowledging the power of the emperors. The credit of the popes increased in the desolation of the city. They often acted as its fathers and comforters, but always as subjects. They could not even be consecrated without the express permission of the exarch. The forms in which this permission was demanded and granted, are preserved to this day. The Roman clergy wrote to the metropolitan of Ravenna, soliciting the intercession of his beatitude with the governor; the pope afterwards sent his profession of faith to the metropolitan.

Astolphus, king of Lombardy, at length made himself master of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, in the year 751, and put an end to that imperial viceroyalty, which had existed one hundred and eighty-three years. As the duchy of Rome depended on the exarchate of Ravenna, Astolphus laid claim to Rome, by right of conquest. Then Pope Stephen II., the sole defender of the unhappy Romans, demanded succor of the emperor Constantine, surnamed Copronymus. All the assistance which this miserable emperor sent was an officer of the palace with a letter to the Lombard king. This weakness of the Greek emperors was the real origin of the new western empire, as well as of the papal greatness.

CHAPTER VI.

SOURCE OF THE PAPAL POWER.

Rome, so often sacked by Barbarians, abandoned by the emperors, hard pressed by the Lombards, and incapable of restoring the ancient republic, could no longer pretend to greatness. It was absolutely necessary, however, that she should enjoy some quiet. This blessing she might have tasted, could she have been at that time wholly governed by her bishops, as were so many towns of Germany later, and this benefit at least would have produced anarchy, but the Christians had not yet imbibed the opinion that a bishop could be invested with the sovereign power, though in the history of mankind we find so many examples of the priesthood's being united with the secular power in other religions.

Pope Gregory III. was the first who had recourse to the protection of the Franks, against the Lombards and the emperors. His successor, Zacharias, animated with the same spirit, acknowledged Pepin, who usurped the kingdom of France, as a lawful king. It is pretended that Pepin, while he was yet no more than prime minister, desired to know of the pope who was the true king — he who had nothing but the right and title, or he who had the merit and authority — and that his holiness decided in favor of the minister. It has never been clearly proved that

this farce was really acted, but certain it is Pope Stephen III. called Pepin to his assistance against the Lombards; that he actually came to France, and in the church of St. Denis, gave the royal unction to Pepin, who was the first anointed sovereign in Europe. This first usurper not only received the sacred unction of the pope, after having received it from St. Boniface, who was called the apostle of Germany, but Stephen III. forbade the French, on pain of excommunication, to bestow it on the kings of any other race. When this bishop, an exile from his own country, and suppliant in a foreign land, had the courage to give laws to his protectors, his policy assumed an authority which secured that of his benefactor, and Pepin, that he might the more safely enjoy that which was not his due, allowed the pope to possess those rights to which he had no title.

Hugh Capet in France, and Conrad in Germany, showed in the end that excommunication is not a fundamental law. Nevertheless, opinion, which governs mankind, at first imprinted in their hearts such reverence for this ceremony, which was performed by the pope at St. Denis, that Eginhard, secretary to Charlemagne, expressly declared that King Hilderic was deposed by order of Pope Stephen. It will be thought a contradiction that this pope should come to France to prostrate himself at the feet of Pepin, and afterwards dispose of the crown, but, in fact, it is no contradiction. Such prostra-

tions were then considered in the same light as our present ceremony or compliment of bowing. It was the ancient custom of the East. Bishops were saluted on the bended knee, and this same respect was paid to the governors of their dioceses. Charles, the son of Pepin, had embraced the feet of Pope Stephen at St. Maurice, in Valais, and Stephen, in his turn, embraced those of Pepin. All this was a matter of no consequence, but the popes by little and little arrogated to themselves only this mark of respect. Pope Adrian I. is said to have been the pontiff who ordained that nobody should appear before him without kissing his feet. Emperors and kings submitted like persons of inferior station to this ceremony, which rendered the Roman religion more venerable in the eyes of mankind.

We are told, that in the year 754, Pepin passed the Alps; that Astolphus, king of Lombardy, was so intimidated by the sole presence of the Frank that he immediately ceded the whole exarchate of of Ravenna to the pope. Then Pepin repassed the mountains, but scarcely had he returned, when Astolphus, instead of giving up Ravenna to the pope, undertook the siege of Rome. All the transactions of those times were so irregular that Pepin certainly might have given to the popes the exarchate of Ravenna, though it did not belong to him, and even made this singular donation without taking any step to render it ineffectual. Yet it is very unlikely that a man of Pepin's disposition, who had dethroned

his own sovereign, should march with an army into Italy, for no other purpose but to make presents. Nothing can be more doubtful than this donation which is mentioned in so many books. The librarian Anastasius, who wrote one hunded and forty years after Pepin's expedition, is the first who takes notice of it. A thousand authors have quoted it since that period, but it is now refuted by the best casuists in Germany.

At that time the human mind was possessed by a capricious medley of cunning and simplicity, of brutality and artifice, which was a strong characteristic of general decay and degeneracy. Stephen forged a letter in the name of St. Peter, addressed from heaven, to Pepin and his children, which for its oddity deserves to be literally inserted: "Peter, called as apostle by Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, etc. As by me, the catholic, apostolic, Roman Church, mother of all other churches, is founded on a rock, and to the end that the grace of our Lord be fully granted to Stephen, bishop of that sweet and holy Roman Church, whereby he may reserve her from the hands of her persecutors. To you, the most excellent monarchs, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman, and to all holy bishops and abbots, priests and monks, and even to dukes, counts, and peoples, I, Peter, apostle, etc., I conjure you, and the Virgin Mary, who will be much obliged to you, gives you to understand, and commands you as well as the thrones and dominions — if you do not

fight for me, I declare by the holy trinity, and my own apostleship, that you shall never enjoy any part of Paradise." This letter had the desired effect. Pepin passed the Alps a second time, besieged Pavia, and then concluded a peace with Astolphus. But is it probable that he should cross the mountains twice, with no other view but that of bestowing towns upon Pope Stephen? Why does not St. Peter mention such an important fact in his letter? Why does he not complain to Pepin that he was not in possession of the exarchate? Why does not he expressly demand that it should be restored?

The original title of this donation never appeared. We are therefore obliged to doubt its authenticity. To this dilemma we are often reduced in history, as well as in philosophy. Besides, the holy see has no occasion for equivocal rights. The rights she has to her territories are as incontestable as those that any other sovereigns of Europe have to their respective dominions. Certain it is, the pontiffs of Rome, even then, had large patrimonies, in more than one country. These patrimonies were always respected, and totally exempt from tribute. They had territories among the Alps, in Tuscany, at Spoleto, in Gaul, Sicily, and even in Corsica, before the Arabians made themselves masters of that island in the eighth century. Probably Pepin considerably augmented this patrimony in the country of Romagna, and this was called the patrimony of the exarchate. The word "patrimony" was, in all likelihood, the

source of the mistake. Authors of a later date, who wrote in times of obscurity, took it for granted that the popes had actually reigned in every country, where they only possessed some towns and territories.

The only pope who, towards the latter part of the eighth century, seems to have raised himself to the rank of prince, was Adrian I. The money coined in his name, if that coin was really struck in his name, plainly shows that he possessed the rights of sovereignty, and the custom of kissing feet, which he introduced, serves to strengthen this conjecture. And yet he always acknowledged the Greek emperor as his sovereign. He might very well pay an unsubstantial homage to that distant sovereign and at the same time arrogate to himself a real independence, supported by the authority of his sacred function.

Before we view in what manner the whole face of affairs was changed in the West, by the translation of the empire, it will be necessary to give you an idea of the state of the eastern church, the dispute of which contributed not a little to that great revolution.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF THE EASTERN CHURCH, BEFORE CHARLEMAGNE.

THAT the customs of the Greek and Latin churches were as different as their languages; that the liturgy, the vestments, the ornaments, the form of the churches, and even of the cross, were not the same in both; that the Greeks prayed standing, and the Latins on their knees, are points which I shall not examine. It was to other causes than this difference of modes, that we must impute the quarrels that embroiled the eastern and western parts of the world. These served only to nourish the natural aversion of two nations, become rivals to each other. The Greeks especially, who never received baptism except by immersion, plunging themselves into baptismal tubs, hated the Latins, who, in favor of the northern Christians, introduced that rite by aspersion. But these customs excited no dangerous convulsions.

Temporal dominion, that eternal subject of discord in the West, was unknown to the eastern churches. The bishops remained in the capacity of subjects, under the eyes of a master. But other quarrels, no less mischievous, were excited by those interminable disputes that spring from the spirit of sophistry, which predominated among the Greeks and their disciples. The simplicity of the first ages

was lost in the great number of questions formed by human curiosity, for the founder of the faith having committed nothing to writing, and mankind being desirous of knowing everything, each mystery produced different opinions, and every opinion was sealed with blood.

It is remarkable that, of nearly fourscore sects which have harassed the Church since its origin, not one was formed by a Roman, if we except Novatian, who can scarcely be considered as a heretic. Of all the bishops of Rome, one only favored any of those systems which the Church condemned; that was Pope Honorius I., whom we still hear every day accused of having been a Monothelite, an imputation laid on purpose to blast the memory of that pontiff, but whoever will give himself the trouble to read his famous pastoral letter, in which he attributes only one will to Jesus Christ, will find him a man of extraordinary sagacity: "We confess only one will in Jesus Christ; we do not see that the councils or Scripture authorize us to espouse any other opinion, but to know whether, on account of the works of divinity and humanity that are in him, we ought to understand one operation or two, is a point I leave to grammarians as a matter of very little importance."

Perhaps there is nothing more valuable than these words in all the letters of the popes now extant. They convince us that all the disputes of the Greeks were disputes upon words, and that those quarrels

of mere sophists, which were attended with such fatal consequences ought to have been stifled in the birth. Had they been left to the decision of grammarians, according to the opinion of this sensible pontiff, the church would have enjoyed uninterrupted repose, but whenever any person was desirous to know whether the Son was consubstantial, or like unto the Father, the Christian world was divided, and one-half persecuted the other. Was the question to know whether the mother of Jesus Christ was the mother of God, or of Jesus only? Whether Christ had two natures and two wills in the same person, or two persons and one will, or one will and one person? All these disputes brought forth in Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, were the source of sedition. One party anathematized another. The domineering faction inflicted the pains of exile, imprisonment, death, and eternal damnation upon their antagonists, who avenged themselves in their turn, by the same artillery. Troubles of this nature were unknown in the time of paganism, because the heathens, in the midst of their gross errors, had no tenets, and the priests of the idols, much less the laity, never juridically assembled on purpose to dispute.

In the eighth century, the churches of the East deliberated whether it was incumbent on them to worship images. This kind of worship the law of Moses had expressly forbidden. That law had never been annulled, and the primitive Christians, during

the two first centuries, had never suffered images to appear in their assemblies. By little and little, it became the fashion everywhere for persons to have crucifixes in their own houses; afterwards they introduced portraits, whether true or false, of the martyrs or confessors. As yet there were no altars erected for saints, nor masses celebrated in their names. It was only supposed that at sight of a crucifix or image of a good man, the human heart, which, in those climates especially, has need of sensible objects, would be stimulated to virtue. This custom was introduced into churches; yet some bishops refused to adopt it. We find, that in 393, St. Epiphanius pulled away from a church in Syria a certain image before which the people offered their devotion. He declared that the Christian religion did not allow of such worships, yet no schism was produced from this act of severity.

At length this pious practice, like all other human things, degenerated into abuse. The populace, ever gross and stupid, did not distinguish between the real God and images. To these, in a little time, they began to attribute virtues and miracles. Every image infallibly cured one kind of distemper. They were even used in sorcery, which has at all times seduced the credulity of the vulgar; I mean not only the vulgar of the populace, but also that of the great and the learned. In the year 727, the emperor Leo, the Isaurian, resolved, by the persuasion of some bishops, to eradicate this abuse, but by an abuse

still more flagrant, he ordered all paintings to be destroyed. He demolished the statues and representations of Jesus Christ, as well as those of the saints. He incensed the people by thus at once depriving them of the objects of their worship. They disobeyed his commands, and he raised a persecution. In a word, he became a tyrant, because his conduct happened to be indiscreet.

It is a reproach upon this age that it should produce compilers, who still repeat the old fable of two Jews who predicted to Leo his future greatness, and exacted of him that, on his elevation to the empire, he should abolish image worship, as if it had been a matter of any consequence to the Jews whether the Christians had or had not figures in their churches. Historians who believe that persons can thus prognosticate what is to happen, are altogether unworthy to record what has passed.

His son, Constantine Copronymus, confirmed the abolition of images, by a civil and ecclesiastical constitution. He assembled at Constantinople a council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, who unanimously condemned this kind of worship, which had been received in many churches, and particularly at Rome.

This emperor would have as willingly abolished the monks, whom he abhorred, and to whom he gave no other appellation than that of abominable wretches, but he could not accomplish his design. The monks, who were already rich, defended their

wealth much more dexterously than they had done the images of their saints.

The popes, Gregory II. and Gregory III., and their successors, though secretly enemies to the emperors, and openly opposed to this doctrine, did not, however, fulminate those sentences of excommunication, which later on were so frequently and so frivolously employed. But whether the metropolitans of Rome were still restrained by that ancient respect for the successors of the Cæsars, or, which is more probable, they foresaw that those excommunications, interdictions, and dispensations with the oath of allegiance, would be despised in Constantinople, whose patriarchal church at least equalled the see of Rome, they held two councils in 728 and 732, which determined that all the enemies of image worship should be barely excommunicated, without once mentioning the emperor. From that period they attended more to business than to dispute. Gregory II. assumed the administration of affairs at Rome, while the people, rising in rebellion against the emperor, would no longer pay the usual tribute. Gregory III. acted on the same principles. Some Greek authors of a posterior date, with a view to blacken the memory of the popes, have affirmed that Gregory II. excommunicated and deposed the emperor, and that the whole Roman people acknowledged this pontiff as their sovereign. These Greeks did not consider that the popes, whom they wanted to represent as

usurpers, would, in that case, have been the most lawful of all princes. They would have held their power by the free suffrages of the Roman people, and become sovereigns of Rome by a much juster title than that of many emperors, but it is neither probable nor true that the Romans, when threatened by Leo the Isaurian, and hard pressed by the Lombards, elected their bishop as their sole lord and master, at a time when they stood in need of the assistance of warriors. If the popes, at that period, had acquired so fair a title to the rank of the Cæsars, they would never have transferred it in the end to Charlemagne.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLEMAGNE.

The kingdom of Pepin extended from the Rhine to the Alps and the Pyrenees. Charlemagne, his eldest son, enjoyed that whole succession entire; for one of his brothers died after the division, and the other had, before that period, turned monk, in the monastery of St. Sylvester, a kind of devotion that mingled itself with the barbarity of the times, and enclosed more than one prince within a cloister. Thus Rachis, king of the Lombards; Carloman, brother of Pepin, and a duke of Aquitaine, had taken the habit of Benedictine: for, at that time, there was hardly any other order in the West. Convents were honorable retreats for those who sought to lead

a life of tranquillity; but these sanctuaries soon became the prisons of dethroned princes.

Pepin had not exercised a direct sway in nearly the whole extent of his dominions: he received homage and tribute only from Aquitaine, Bavaria, Provence, and Brittany, countries that were newly conquered. This vast empire was bounded by two formidable neighboring nations, namely the northern Germans, and the Saracens. England, conquered by the Anglo-Saxons, divided into a heptarchy, at continual war with Albany, called Scotland, as well as with the Danes, was then destitute of power and policy; while Italy, feeble and divided, waited only until it should fall into the hands of some new master.

The northern Germans were then distinguished by the appellation of Saxons, a name that comprehended all those nations which inhabited the banks of the Weser and the Elbe, from Hamburg to Moravia, and from Mentz to the Baltic. They were pagans, as were all the natives of the North; their manners and customs the same as described in the time of the Romans. Every canton modelled itself into a separate republic; but, in time of war, they elected a chief, or general. Their laws were simple as their manners, and their religion was brutal. In extreme danger, they, like all other nations, sacrificed human victims to the divinity; for it is the character of barbarians to believe the Deity is malevolent: mankind form the idea of a God after

their own image. The French, though already converted to Christianity, retained this horrible superstition in the reign of Theodbert. Human victims were sacrificed in Italy, according to the account given by Procopius; and the Jews had sometimes committed this kind of sacrilege, through excess of devotion. In other respects those people cultivated justice, and placed their glory and their happiness in the enjoyment of liberty. These were the people who, under the names of Chatti, Cherusci, and Bructeri, had conquered Varus, and were afterwards subdued by Germanicus.

Part of this people, in the fifth century, being invited by the islanders of Great Britain, as auxiliaries against the inhabitants of Scotland, subdued that part of the island which borders upon Scotland, and bestowed upon it the name of England. They had already visited it, even in the third century: for, in the reign of Constantine, the coasts of the island were called the Saxon shore.

Charlemagne, the most ambitious, the most politic prince, and by far the greatest warrior of his time, maintained a war for thirty years against the Saxons, before they were thoroughly subdued. Their country did not then yield those things which now tempt the avarice of conquerors: the rich mines of Goslar and Friedberg, from whence so much silver has been extracted, were not yet discovered: they were not known till the reign of Henry the Fowler. There was no wealth accumulated by a long series of

industry; no town worthy of a usurper's ambition. The sole aim of conquest was, to enslave whole millions of men who ploughed the ground in an unfavorable climate, fed their flocks, and refused to submit to the arbitrary will of a master.

The war against the Saxons commenced on account of a tribute of three hundred horses and some cows, which Pepin exacted of them; and this war continued thirty years. If it be asked what right the Franks had over the people, I answer: "The same right as the Saxons had to England." They must have been wretchedly armed; for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne, I find a rigorous prohibition to sell cuirasses to the Saxons. This difference of arms, reinforced by discipline, which had enabled the Romans to subdue so many nations, was likewise the great cause of Charlemagne's triumphs.

The general over the greater part of these nations was that famous Wittikind, from whom the chief families of the empire are now said to be descended: a man who resembled Arminius, but who had more weakness in his character. Charlemagne at first took the famous town of Eresburg; for that place neither deserved the name of a city, nor of a fortress. He ordered the inhabitants to be put to the sword. He pillaged, and afterwards razed to the foundation, the principal temple of the country, formerly built and consecrated to the god Tantana, the universal principle, if ever those savages had any idea of a universal principle: it was then dedicated to the god

Irminsul, whether this deity was the god of war, the Ares of the Greeks, the Mars of the Romans; or whether it was consecrated to the famous Herman, or Arminius, the conqueror of Varus, and the avenger of Germanic liberty.

There the priests were massacred on the fragments of their idol. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weser, and all these districts submitted; but Charlemagne wanted to bind them to his yoke by the ties of the Christian religion; while he himself hastened to the other end of his dominions, to gather fresh laurels, he left missionaries to convert, and soldiers to compel them. Almost all that people who lived near the Weser were, in one year, made Christians and slaves.

Wittikind had retired among the Danes, who already trembled for their liberty and their gods; but, at the expiration of some years, he returned, re-animated, and re-assembled his countrymen. Finding in Bremen, the capital of the country that bears the name, a bishop, a church, and the Saxons who were dragged in despair to new altars, he expelled the prelate, who found means to escape and embark. He destroyed Christianity, which had been embraced only on compulsion; he advanced to the neighborhood of the Rhine, at the head of a multitude of Germans, and defeated the lieutenants of Charlemagne.

That prince marched thither with great expedition, and in his turn defeated Wittikind; but he

treated this noble effort at liberty as a rebellion. He demanded of the trembling Saxons that they should deliver up their general; and understanding they had allowed him to return to Denmark, he ordered four thousand five hundred prisoners to be put to the sword on the banks of the little river Aller. Had those prisoners been really subjects in rebellion, this punishment would have been horribly severe; but, to treat in this manner men who fought for their liberty and laws, was the action of a robber, who in other respects, appeared a great man, from his illustrious achievements and the most shining qualifications.

Three other victories were necessary to reduce this nation wholly under his yoke. At length Christianity and servitude were cemented with blood. Wittikind himself, wearied with misfortune, was obliged to receive baptism, and live ever after tributary to his conqueror. The king, the better to secure his conquest, transported Saxon colonies into Italy, and made French settlements on the lands of the vanquished. To this policy he added the cruelty of ordering his spies to stab those Saxons who were disposed to return to their own worship. We often read of conquerors who were never cruel but in war. Peace is productive of mild laws, and gentle manners. Charlemagne, on the contrary, enacted laws that retained the inhumanity of his conquests.

Having seen in what manner this conqueror treated the German idolaters, let us now see how he

behaved with respect to the Mahometans of Spain. That had already happened to them, which soon after appeared in Germany, France, and Italy. The governors rendered themselves independent. The emirs of Saragossa and Barcelona had put themselves under the protection of Pepin. In the year 778, the emir of Saragossa came to Paderborn, to entreat Charlemagne to support him against his sovereign. The French monarch espoused the cause of this Mussulman; but he took care not to convert him to Christianity. Different interests require a difference of conduct. He engaged with an alliance of Saracens against Saracens; but, after some advantages obtained on the frontiers of Spain, his rear-guard was defeated at Roncesvalles, near the Pyrenees, by the very Christians of those mountains, united with the Mahometans. It was here that Orlando, the nephew of Charlemagne, lost his life. This misfortune is the source of those fables, which a monk, in the eleventh century, wrote in the name of Archbishop Turpin; fables which were afterwards embellished by the poetical fancy of Ariosto. The precise time at which Charlemagne sustained this disgrace is not known; nor do we find that he ever avenged his defeat. Content with securing his frontiers against the attempts of enemies who were but too much inured to war, he grasped at no more than he could retain, and regulated his ambition according to the circumstances by which it was favored.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARLEMAGNE, WHEN RAISED TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE.

It was to the possession of Rome, and the empire of the West, that his ambition aspired. The power of the Lombard kings was the sole obstacle; the Church of Rome, and all the churches under his influence; the monks, who were already powerful, and the people already governed by the monks, concurred in calling Charlemagne to the empire of Rome. Pope Adrian, a native of that city, a man of address and fortitude, paved the way. He at first engaged him to repudiate the daughter of Desiderius, king of Lombardy.

The manners and laws of those times were far from being rigid; at least, with respect to princes. Charlemagne had married this daughter of the Lombard king at a time when he is said to have had another wife alive. Plurality of wives was not at all uncommon. We are told by Gregory of Tours, that the kings Gontran, Corbert, Sigebert, and Chilperic, indulged themselves in polygamy. Charlemagne repudiated the daughter of Desiderius, without the least cause or formality. The Lombard king no sooner perceived this fatal union of Charlemagne and the pope against him than he laid down a courageous resolution. He determined to surprise Rome, and make sure of the pope's person; but the bishop

was dexterous enough to convert the war into a negotiation. Charlemagne sent ambassadors to amuse and gain time: at length he passed the Alps, and Desiderius was abandoned by part of his own forces. This unfortunate prince shut himself up in Pavia, which was his capital; and Charlemagne undertook the siege of it in the middle of winter. The city, being reduced to extremity, was surrendered after a siege of six months; and all the terms Desiderius could obtain, were no more than that his life would be spared. Thus expired the kingdom of the Lombards, who had destroyed the Roman power in Italy, and substituted their own laws in the rooms of those enacted by the emperors. Desiderius, the last of these kings, was conducted into France, and confined in the monastery of Corbie, where he lived and died a prisoner and a monk, while his eldest son made a fruitless voyage to Constantinople to solicit assistance of that phantom of the Roman Empire, which had been destroyed in the West by his own ancestors. It must be observed that Desiderius was not the only sovereign whom Charlemagne shut up in a cloister: in the same manner he treated a duke of Bavaria, with his children.

Charlemagne dared not yet openly aspire to the sovereignty of Rome. He assumed no more than the title of king of Italy, which the Lombards had enjoyed. In imitation of them, he caused himself to be crowned in Pavia, with an iron crown, which is still preserved in the little town of Monza. Jus-

tice was still administered at Rome, in the name of the Greek emperor. The popes themselves received from him the confirmation of their election. Charlemagne, like his father, Pepin, took nothing more than the title of Patrician, which Theodoric and Attila had likewise deigned to bear. Thus, the name of Emperor, which originally implied no more than general of an army, still signified the master of the East and West. Vain as it was, they still respected it; and affected only that of Patrician, which formerly meant a senator of Rome.

The popes, who were already powerful in the church, high in quality in Rome, and possessed of large territories, enjoyed but a precarious and tottering authority in that city. The prefect, the people, and the senate, whose shadow still existed, frequently rose against them. The feuds among families that pretended to the pontificate filled the city of Rome with confusion.

The two nephews of Adrian conspired against his successor, Leo III., who was elected pope according to custom, by the people and clergy of Rome. They charged him with sundry crimes, and excited the Romans against him; they dragged him to prison, and outrageously mangled at Rome the person of that very pontiff who was so much respected in every other place. He escaped, and came to Paderborn, where he threw himself at the feet of Charlemagne, the Patrician. That prince, who already acted with absolute authority, sent him back with a guard and

commissioners to sit upon his trial, who had orders to acquit him of all imputation. At length Charlemagne, having rendered himself master of Italy, as well as of Germany and France, judge of the pope, and arbiter of Europe, arrived in Rome in the latter part of the year 799. At that time, the year among the Romans began at Christmas. In the year 800, on Christmas day, during divine service, Leo III. proclaimed him emperor of the West; and the people joined the ceremony with loud acclamations. Charlemagne affected astonishment; but nevertheless availed himself of the authority of his new empire. His right, indeed, was not to be disputed; seeing the suffrages of the people are the foundation of all right.

Historians have asserted, and it is asserted still, that Charlemagne, even before he was emperor, confirmed the donation of the exarchate of Ravenna, adding thereto Corsica, Sardinia, Liguria, Parma, Mantua, the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum, together with Sicily and Venice; and that he deposited the act of this donation upon the tomb which is supposed to contain the ashes of St. Peter and St. Paul.

This donation may be justly ranked with that of Constantine. It does not appear that the popes ever possessed any of those countries till the time of Innocent III. Had they enjoyed the exarchate, they must have been sovereigns of Ravenna and Rome; but in the last will of Charlemagne, which we find pre-

served in Eginhard, that monarch names Rome and Ravenna at the head of the capital cities under his dominion, and bequeaths presents to them in token of his favor. He could not give away Sicily, Corsica, nor Sardinia, because they were not in his possession; nor the duchy of Beneventum, of which he scarce enjoyed a titular superiority: far less could he bestow the republic of Venice, which did not even acknowledge him for emperor. The duke of Venice, at that period, acknowledged, as a mere matter of form, the emperor of the East, from whom he received the title of Hippatos. In the letters of Pope Adrian, mention is made of the patrimonies of Spoleto and Beneventum; but these patrimonies must only be understood as the domains which the popes possessed in those two duchies. Gregory VII. himself owns that Charlemagne bestowed a pension of twelve hundred livres on the holy see. It is not at all probable that he should have given such trivial assistance to a see that was in possession of so many fair provinces. The holy see did not possess Beneventum until long after this period, by the donation of the emperor Henry the Black, about the year 1047. This concession was limited to the town, and did not extend to the whole duchy. But no mention was made of confirming the benefaction of Charlemagne.

The most probable conjecture we can form in the midst of so many doubts is, that, in the reign of Charlemagne, the popes obtained the property of

the marquisate of Ancona, over and above the cities, castles, and towns, which they possessed in other countries. This is the foundation on which I build my conjectures: When the emperor of the West was renewed in the family of the Othos, in the tenth century, Otho III. particularly assigned the marquisate of Ancona to the holy see, confirming, at the same time, all the concessions which had been made to the church. It appears then that Charlemagne had actually given away this marquisate; and that the troubles which ensued in Italy had hindered the popes from enjoying his concession. We shall see that later they lost the convenient dominion of this small tract under the empire of the house of Suabia. We shall see them, like many other sovereigns, sometimes lords of extensive territories, and sometimes stripped of almost every district. Let us be satisfied with knowing that, at this day, they possess an acknowledged sovereignty through a country that extends one hundred and eighty great Italian miles in length, from the gates of Mantua to the confines of the Abruzzo, along the Adriatic Sea; and that it spreads above one hundred miles in width, from Cività Vecchia to the shore of Ancona; that is, from the one sea to the other. In order to secure such a considerable dominion, it was necessary to be always in negotiation, and often in arms.

While Charlemagne became emperor of the West, the empire of the East was vested in Irene, that empress so famous for her courage and her crimes,

who caused her only son to be put to death, after having deprived him of his eyes. She would have gladly effected the ruin of Charlemagne; but knowing herself too weak to contend with him in battle, she resolved to marry him, to unite the two empires. While this negotiation was in progress, a revolution drove her from the throne which had cost her so dear. Charlemagne, therefore, was only master of the Western Empire. He possessed scarcely anything in Spain; for we must not construe into dominion the vain homage of a few Saracens; he had no sway on the coast of Africa; but almost all the rest of the continent of Europe was governed by this monarch. Had he made Rome his capital, and had his successors there fixed their residence; and especially if the custom of dividing dominions among children had not prevailed in those barbarous times, in all probability the world would have seen the Roman Empire revive. Everything at last concurred to dismember that vast body which had been formed by the courage and fortune of Charlemagne; but nothing contributed so much as the absurd conduct of the descendants.

He had no capital, though Aix-la-Chapelle was the place where he delighted chiefly to reside. There he gave audience with the most dazzling pomp and magnificence, to the ambassadors of the caliphs, and to those of Constantinople. Besides, he was always either in the field or on a journey, in the same manner as Charles V. lived so many ages after this

period. He divided his dominions, even in his own lifetime, according to the custom that prevailed among all the monarchs of those times; but, at length, when of all the sons whom he designed for crowns, none remained but that Louis so well known by the epithet of Débonnaire, on whom he had already bestowed the kingdom of Aquitaine, he associated this prince in the empire, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and commanded him to take, with his own hands, the imperial crown from the altar, to let the world see that the crown was due alone to the valor of the father, and the merit of the son; and as if he had foreseen that one day the ministers of the altar would arrogate to themselves the right of disposing of that diadem.

He was in the right to declare his son emperor in his own lifetime, for this dignity, acquired by his own good fortune, was not secured to his son by the right of inheritance; but in leaving the empire to Louis, and giving Italy to Bernard, the son of his son Pepin, did not he himself tear in pieces that empire which he wanted to preserve for his posterity? Was not this, in effect, arming his successors against each other? Had he any reason to presume that the nephew, who was king of Italy, would obey his uncle, who was emperor? or that the emperor would not endeavor to make himself master of Italy? Be that as it may, Charlemagne died in the year 814, with the reputation of having been an emperor as fortunate as Augustus, and as warlike as Adrian;

but not so good as Trajan or Antoninus, to whom no sovereign was ever comparable.

At that time there was a prince in the East who equalled Charlemagne in glory as well as in power. This was the celebrated caliph, Haroun-al-Raschid, who greatly surpassed him in justice, science, and humanity. I could almost venture to add Pope Adrian to these two illustrious men; a pontiff who, though in a less elevated rank, and nearly in a private station, with virtues perhaps not so heroic, yet displayed consummate prudence, to which his successors have owed all their power and grandeur.

The curiosity of mankind, which penetrates even into the privacy of princes, would gladly see a circumstantial detail of Charlemagne's private transactions, and even pry into his amours. He is said to have indulged his love of women to such excess that he deflowered his own daughters. The same calumny has been recorded of Augustus; but of what consequence to mankind is the detail of these weaknesses, which never had the least influence on public affairs?

I consider his reign in a point of view more worthy of a patriot's attention. The countries that now compose France and Germany, as far as the Rhine, enjoyed uninterrupted peace for nearly fifty years, and Italy for the space of thirteen years, after his elevation to the empire. There was now no revolution in France; no calamity, during this half century, which in that light stands distinguished from

all others: yet even this long period of happiness and repose was not sufficient to restore politeness and the liberal arts. The rust of barbarism was too strong, and continued to increase in the succeeding ages.

CHAPTER X.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS THAT PREVAILED ABOUT THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

I SHALL stop at this celebrated era to consider the customs, laws, religion, and manners, which then prevailed. The Franks had been always barbarians, and so continued to be after the death of Charlemagne: his reign alone had a gleam of politeness, which was probably the fruit of his journey to Rome, or rather the effect of his own genius. His predecessors were illustrious for nothing but their depredations: they destroyed cities, but they founded none. The Gauls had found their account in being conquered by the Romans. Marseilles, Arles, Autun, Lyons, and Trier, were flourishing cities, that peaceably enjoyed their municipal laws, subordinate to the sage regulations of the Romans; and they were animated by a very extensive commerce. We find, in a letter from a proconsul to Theodosius, that the city of Autun contained five and twenty thousand families; but, soon as the Burgundians, the Goths, and the Franks, arrived in Gaul, the large cities were depopulated; the circuses and amphi-

theatres built by the Romans, even to the banks of the Rhine, were either demolished, or allowed to fall in ruins. If the criminal and unfortunate queen Brunehaut preserved some leagues of those causeways which we have never been able to imitate, this is a circumstance which we still remember with surprise.

What hindered those new-comers from building regular edifices on the Roman model? They had stone, marble, and better wood than we now can find. The flocks of England and Spain were covered with fine wool, as they are at this day; yet broadcloth was manufactured nowhere except in Italy. Why did not the balance of Europe import the merchandise of Asia? Why were all the conveniences that sweeten the bitterness of life, at that time unknown? For no other reason, but because the Barbarians who passed the Rhine infected other nations with their savage manners. We may judge by those Salic, Ripuarian, and Burgundian laws, which Charlemagne himself could not abrogate, and therefore confirmed. Poverty and rapaciousness had set a pecuniary value upon a man's life, mutilation, rape, incest, and poisoning. He who could afford to pay four hundred sols, that is, four hundred crowns, might slay a bishop with impunity. The murder of a priest was rated at two hundred sols; the same price was set upon rape, and poisoning with herbs. A sorceress who had fed on human flesh was acquitted for two hundred sols; a circumstance which

proves that the witches of those days were not only found among the dregs of the people, as in the latter ages, but that those horrible extravagances were likewise practised among persons of wealth. Single combat and the ordeals decided, as we shall see, all disputes about inheritance, and the validity of wills: their whole jurisprudence was dictated by ferocity and superstition. Let us judge of the manners of the people by those of the princes. We find them distinguished by no act of magnanimity. The Christian religion, which ought to have humanized mankind, did not hinder Clovis from causing the petty sovereigns, his neighbors, to be assassinated. The two children of Clodomir were massacred at Paris, in the year 533, by their uncles Childebert and Clotharius, who are distinguished by the title of kings of France: Clodoaldo, the brother of these murdered innocents, is invoked under the name of St. Cloud, because he was compelled to become a monk.

In the reign of Chilperic, king of Soissons, in the year 562, the subjects who were slaves abandoned this pretended kingdom, wearied by the tyranny of their master, who took all their bread and wine, as he could not take money, of which they were quite destitute. One Sigebert, and another Chilperic, were assassinated. Brunehaut, who from an Arian became a Catholic, was accused of a thousand murders: Clotharius II., no less barbarous than she, ordered her to be dragged through his camp at a

horse's tail; and she perished by this new kind of punishment in the year 616. All the monuments that remain of those hideous times are foundations of monasteries, and a confused remembrance of misery and rapine.

We are not to suppose that the emperors acknowledged for kings those barbarous chiefs who ruled in Burgundy, at Soissons, Paris, Metz, and Orleans: they never bestowed upon them the title of Basilius. They did not even confer it upon Dagobert II., who united under his dominion the whole western and eastern France, as far as the Weser. Historians expatiate upon the magnificence of Dagobert, and, as a proof of it, mention the goldsmith of St. Eloi, who, they say, came to court with a girdle adorned with precious stones; that is, he sold diamonds, and carried them in his girdle. They speak of the magnificent edifices built by this monarch. Where are they to be found? The old church of St. Paul is no other than an inconsiderable Gothic monument. This we know of Dagobert: that he had three wives at the same time; that he assembled councils, and tyrannized over his subjects.

In his reign a merchant of Sens, called Samon, went to trade in Germany, from whence he proceeded to the country of the Slavs. These savages were so astonished to see a man who had travelled so far to supply them with those things which they wanted, that they invested him with the sovereignty. This very Samon is said to have made war upon

Dagobert; and if the king of the Franks had three wives, the new Slavonian monarch had fifteen. It was under this Dagobert that the authority of the mayors of the palace commenced. After him came a race of slothful princes; then confusion and despotism of the mayors ensued. It was in the time of those mayors, at the beginning of the eighth century, that the Arabians, who had subdued Spain, penetrated to Toulouse, made themselves masters of Guienne, ravaged the country as far as the Loire, and had well nigh conquered all Gaul from the Franks, who had wrested it from the Romans. One may judge in what condition the people, the church, and the laws must have been at this juncture.

CHAPTER XI.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS THAT PREVAILED IN THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Charles Martel, the usurper and support of the sovereign power in a great monarchy, who vanquished the conquering Arabs, and repulsed them to Gascony, received, however, no other title from Pope Gregory II. than that of *Sous-roitilet,* or *Subregulus,* when he implored his protection against the king of Lombardy. He made dispositions for marching to the relief of the Roman church; but, in the meantime, he pillaged the churches of the Franks, bestowed the riches of the convents upon his cap-

tains, and detained his own sovereign in captivity. We have seen the transactions of his son Pepin, and of his grandson Charlemagne.

The great conquests of this last monarch were owing to his constant care of having veteran troops in his service. These were levied by the dukes that governed the provinces, in the same manner as the soldiers in Turkey are now raised by the beglerbegs: those dukes had been instituted in Italy by Diocletian. The counts, who seem to have derived their origin from the time of Theodosius, were next in command to the dukes, and assembled troops, each in his own district. The farms, boroughs, and villages furnished a certain number of soldiers, proportioned to their ability. Twelve farms found one horseman, armed with helmet and cuirass: the other soldiers had neither, but only a long, square buckler, a battle-axe, a javelin, and a sword. Every archer was obliged to have at least twelve arrows in his quiver. The province that furnished the soldiery supplied them likewise with corn and necessary provision for six months; the king maintained them for the rest of the campaign. The general rendezvous was on the first day of March, or in the beginning of May; and at these times the parliaments were usually held. The battering ram, the balista, the tortoise, and most of the Roman machines, were employed in sieges. The noblemen distinguished by the appellations of Barons, Leudes, and Richeomes, with their followers, composed the small number of

cavalry, which, at that time, appeared in their armies. The Mussulmans of Africa and Spain were much better provided with horse. Charles had a naval force, that is, large boats at the mouths of all the great rivers of his empire. Before his time, such vessels were not known among the Barbarians, and even a long time after his death they were ignorant of their utility. By this precaution, and his military police, he put a stop to the inundation of people from the North, and confined them within their own frozen climates; but, under his weak descendants, they deluged all Europe.

Public affairs were regulated in assemblies that represented the whole nation. In his reign, however, the parliaments had no will but that of a master, who could command as well as persuade. Commerce flourished because he was master of the sea. The merchants settled on the coast of Tuscany, as well as those of Marseilles, traded to Constantinople among the Christians, and to the port of Alexandria with the Mussulmans, by whom they were well received, and supplied with the riches of Asia.

Venice and Genoa, which were afterwards so powerful by their traffic, had not yet engrossed the wealth of nations; though Venice began to be rich and important, divers manufactures of stuffs and woollen cloth were carried on at Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Lyons, Arles, and Tours. Steel was tempered there, in imitation of that made at Damascus. They likewise knew the art of making glass; but

silk stuffs were not woven in any town of the Western Empire.

The Venetians began to import them from Constantinople, but it was not until four hundred years after Charlemagne that the Norman princes established a silk manufactory at Palermo. Linen was then very uncommon. St. Boniface, in a letter to a German bishop, desires he will send him some frieze for his feet-washing. In all probability this want of linen was the cause of those cutaneous distempers, known by the name of leprosy, so rife at this period; for the hospitals, called lazar-houses, were already very numerous.

The coin bore nearly the same value with that of the Roman Empire since the reign of Constantine. The golden sol was the *Solidus Romanus,* equivalent to forty deniers of silver; and these deniers, though they were sometimes heavier, sometimes lighter, weighed, on an average, thirty grains.

The golden sol would now, in 1740, be worth about fifteen francs, and the silver denier be equivalent to thirty sols, according to the present way of reckoning.

In reading these histories we must always remember that, besides these real pieces of gold and silver coin, people in their calculations made use of another denomination. They often reckoned by fictitious specie, which was no more than a method of counting, such as is practised at this day. The Asiatics and the Greeks reckoned by minæ and talents, and

the Romans by great sesterces, though there was no such coin as a great sestertium, or a talent.

The numerary pound, in the time of Charlemagne, was computed equivalent in weight to twelve ounces of silver. This pound was numerically divided, as at this day, into twenty parts: there were indeed silver sols, like our crowns, weighing, each, the twentieth, the twenty-second, or the twenty-fourth, part of a pound of twelve ounces; and this sol was, like ours, divided into twelve deniers. But Charlemagne having ordained that the silver sol should be precisely the twentieth part of twelve ounces, people, in their accounts, began to consider twenty sols as a pound. For two centuries the coin remained in the same condition to which it was reduced by Charlemagne; but by little and little, different kings, in times of necessity, sometimes mixed the sols with an alloy, and sometimes diminished their weight; so that, by an alteration which reflects disgrace upon almost all the governments in Europe, that sol, which was heretofore nearly the same as our present crown, is now no more than a light piece of copper, with the mixture of one-eleventh, at most, of silver; and the livre, which was formerly the sign representative of twelve ounces of silver, is now no more in France than the sign representative of twenty copper sols. The denier, which was the hundred and twenty-fourth part of a pound of silver, is no more than one-third of that base coin which we call a liard. Suppose then, that one town in France owed to an-

other one hundred and twenty livres of rent, that is, fourteen hundred and forty ounces of silver, as estimated in the time of Charlemagne, it would now discharge the debt by the payment of what we call a crown of six francs. The numerical pound of the English and the Dutch has undergone less alteration; a pound sterling of England is worth about twenty-two francs of France; and a Dutch pound is nearly equal to twelve: thus the Hollanders have deviated less than the French from the original institution, and the English least of all.

As often, therefore, as history mentions money under the denomination of pounds, we have nothing to do but examine the value of that pound at the time, and in the country so specified, and compare it with our present money distinguished by the same appellation. We should have the same attention in reading the Greek and Roman history: for example, it is a very troublesome task for a reader to be obliged every moment to reform the calculations made in the ancient history of a celebrated professor in the university of Paris, in the ecclesiastical history of Fleury, and in almost all useful authors. When they would express the value of talents, minæ, and sesterces, in French money, they always compute by the estimate which was made by some learned men before the death of the great Colbert. But the mark of eight ounces, which under that minister was valued at twenty-six francs and ten sols, has been for a long time worth forty-nine livres and ten

sols; a difference which amounts to nearly one-half. This difference, which at some particular times has been much greater, may be either increased or diminished. We should remember this variation, without which we must have very erroneous ideas of the strength of ancient states, their commerce, the pay of their soldiers, and, in a word, of their whole economy. It appears that the quantity of specie which then circulated in Italy and about the banks of the Rhine, was eight times less than it is in the present age. We cannot judge of this circumstance better than by the price of necessaries, and I find these were eight times cheaper in the reign of Charlemagne than in our days. Twenty-four pounds of white bread were, by the capitularies, valued at one denier of silver; this denier was the fortieth part of a golden sol, which was worth from between fifteen to sixteen livres of our present money: thus the pound of bread came to a liard and something more, that is, in effect, an eighth part of the price now usually given.

In the northern countries silver was still more scarce: there, for example, the price of an ox was fixed at a golden sol. We shall see later in what manner trade and riches extended themselves close in the rear of each other.

The liberal arts and sciences must have had but very weak beginnings in those vast countries that were still in a state of barbarity. Eginhard, secretary to Charlemagne, gives us to understand that this

conqueror could not sign his own name. Nevertheless, by the force of his natural genius, he comprehended how necessary it would be to encourage literature. He brought teachers of grammar and arithmetic from Rome. The ruins of that capital furnished everything to the West, which is not yet sufficiently reformed. Alcuin, that English monk so famous in those days, and Peter of Pisa, who taught Charlemagne the rudiments of grammar, had both studied at Rome.

There were chanters in the churches of France, and, what is very remarkable, they were known by the name of Gaulish chanters. The race of the conquering Franks had cultivated no art or science; those Gauls pretended, as at this day, to dispute the prize for vocal music with the Romans. The Gregorian music, attributed to St. Gregory the Great, was not without merit. There is some dignity, even in its simplicity. The Gaulish singers, who did not use the ancient alphabetical notes, had corrupted the music which they pretended to embellish, and Charlemagne, in one of his expeditions to Italy, compelled them to conform to the music of their masters. Pope Adrian supplied them with books, in which the music was noted, and two Italian musicians were established to teach these notes, one at Metz, and the other at Soissons. They were besides compelled to send organs from Rome. There was not a striking clock in any town of his whole empire, nor indeed was there any until about the thirteenth cen-

tury; hence the ancient custom, still preserved in Germany, Flanders, and England, of employing watchmen to call the hours in the night. The present of a striking clock, which the caliph Haroun-al-Raschid sent to Charlemagne, was looked upon as a miracle. With respect to the sciences of philosophy, physics, astronomy, and the principles of medicine, how was it possible that they should be known? They had but just dawned in this part of the world.

They reckoned by nights; and hence in England they still say a fortnight, in order to express two weeks. The language, called Romanic, began to be formed by a mixture of Latin with the Teutonic. This is the origin of the French, Spanish, and Italian languages. It continued until the reign of Frederick II., and it is still spoken in some villages of the Grisons, and towards Switzerland. The garments which have been always varying since the ruin of the Roman Empire, were very short, except on days of ceremony, when the coat was covered with a cloak, frequently lined with fur. These skins were brought, as they are now, from the north, especially from Russia. From the knee downwards they still preserved the Roman manner of dressing. It is observed that Charlemagne's legs were covered with fillets of various colors, in the form of buskins, as they are still worn by the Highlanders of Scotland, the only people upon earth among whom the military garb of the Romans is preserved.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PREVAILING RELIGION IN THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

If we now turn our eyes upon the happy consequences of religion; upon the evils which mankind brought upon themselves when they used it as an instrument of their passions; upon the consecrated rites, and the abuse of those rites; the quarrel between the Iconoclasts and the Iconolaters, is the most important object that first presents itself to our view.

The empress Irene, guardian of her unfortunate son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in order to pave her way to the empire, flattered the people and the monks who had still a hankering after image-worship, although it had been proscribed by so many emperors since the reign of Leo the Isaurian. She was attached to it herself, because it had been abhorred by her husband. Irene had been persuaded, that, in order to gain the ascendancy over her husband, she must place the images of certain saints under his bolster. Credulity finds way even into the most politic bosoms. The emperor, her husband, had punished the author of this superstition. Irene, after his death, gave free scope to her own fancy and ambition: this was the cause of her assembling, in the year 786, the second Council of Nice, the seventh ecumenical council, which first

began at Constantinople: she caused Tarasius, her secretary of state, a layman, to be erected patriarch. There had been formerly some examples of laymen thus raised to bishoprics, without passing through the other degrees; but, at that time, this custom no longer obtained.

When this patriarch opened the council, the conduct of Pope Adrian appeared very extraordinary. He did not anathematize the secretary of state who had erected himself into a patriarch. He did no more than modestly protest, in his letter to Irene, against the title of Universal Patriarch; but he insisted upon her restoring to the holy see the patrimonies of Sicily. He loudly demanded restitution of this petty estate; while, in imitation of his predecessors, he wrested the profitable dominion of so many fair territories which, he assured us, were bestowed by Pepin and Charlemagne. In the meantime the ecumenical council of Nice, at which the pope's legates and this ministerial patriarch presided, thought proper to re-establish the worship of images.

It is a circumstance confessed by all judicious writers, that the fathers of this council, the number of whom amounted to three hundred and fifty, recognized a number of pieces that were evidently spurious; a number of miracles, the bare recital of which would, in our days, be deemed scandalous; a number of books that were apocryphal. Yet these false pieces ought not to affect the credit of the genuine

works, on the merits of which they decided. But, when it became necessary that this council should be received by Charlemagne and the churches of France, how was the pope embarrassed? Charlemagne had loudly declared against images; he had given directions for writing the books called "Carolins," in which that worship was anathematized. In the year 794, he assembled a council at Frankfort, at which he presided, according to the custom of all the emperors; a council composed of three hundred bishops or abbots, as well of Italy as of France, who unanimously rejected the service and adoration of images. This equivocal word, "adoration," was the source of all those differences. If mankind would define the words they use there would be fewer disputes. More than one kingdom has been overthrown through a misunderstanding.

While Pope Adrian sent into France the acts of the second Council of Nice, he received the "Carolins," in opposition to that council; and he was pressed in the name of Charlemagne to declare the emperor of Constantinople and his mother heretics. We see by this conduct of Charlemagne that he wanted to derive from the pretended heresy of the emperor a new right or pretence to wrest Rome from him under color of justice.

The pope, divided between the Council of Nice, which he adopted, and Charlemagne, whom he had no inclination to disoblige, chose, in my opinion, a politic medium, which should have served as an

example in all the unfortunate disputes which generally divided Christendom. He explained the "Carolins" in a manner that was favorable to the Council of Nice, and by this expedient refuted the king, without incurring his displeasure. He dispensed with the worship of images, a relaxation which was very reasonable among the Germans, hardly rescued from their idolatry, and the ignorant Franks, who had very little sculpture or painting; at the same time he exhorted the people to abstain from breaking those images. Thus he satisfied both parties, and left it to time to confirm or abolish a rite that was still doubtful. Attentive to the art of managing mankind, and making religion subservient to his own interest, he wrote to Charlemagne in these terms: "I cannot declare Irene and her son heretics, after the Council of Nice; but I will brand them as such if they do not restore the lands of Sicily."

We see the same discretion of this pope in a dispute that was still more delicate, which alone would have been sufficient at any other time to kindle up the flame of civil war. The question was: whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, or from the Father only? At first in the East, the first Council of Nice had added, that he proceeded from the Father; afterwards in Spain, and then in France and Germany, they added that he proceeded from the Father and the Son. This

article was believed by almost the whole empire of Charlemagne.

These words of the creed, "*Qui ex patre filioque procedit,*" were deemed sacred among the Franks, even though they had never been adopted at Rome. Charlemagne pressed the pope to declare himself on this article; the pope replied that he did not condemn the king's opinion: nevertheless he made no change in the creed at Rome. He appeased the dispute by forbearing to decide it. In a word, he treated spiritual affairs as a prince, whereas too many princes have treated them as bishops.

From that period the profound policy of the popes established their power by little and little. A collection was made of false facts, now known under the name of false decretals; they are said to have been collated by a Spaniard called Isidore Mercator, or Piscator, or Peccator. They were circulated and put in force by the German bishops, whose integrity had been imposed upon. Some pretend that there are now incontestable proofs of their having been composed by one Algeram, abbot of Senones, and bishop of Metz. They are still extant in manuscript, in the library of the Vatican; but what signifies their authenticity? These false decretals are supposed to contain ancient canons, decreeing that even a provincial council shall not be held without the pope's permission; and that his holiness should be the last resort in all ecclesiastical causes. In these decretals the immediate successors of the apostles are made

to speak; nay, they are supposed to be the writers of the collection: true it is, the whole being in the barbarous style of the eighth century, abounding with errors in history and geography, the artifice was very gross; but the people were grossly ignorant on whom they imposed. Mankind were puzzled by these false decretals for eight whole centuries; and at last, when the falsehood stood confessed, the rights and customs which they established still existed in one part of the Church; antiquity maintained the place of truth.

Even at that time, the bishops of the West were temporal lords, and possessed many lands in fief; but none of them were independent sovereigns. The kings of France nominated persons to bishoprics; in this particular more resolute and politic than the Greek emperors and the kings of Lombardy, who contented themselves with interposing their authority in the elections.

The first Christian churches were governed as republics, on the model of the synagogues. Those who presided at these assemblies insensibly assumed the title *Episcopus,* a Greek word, used by the Greeks as an appellation to their governors of colonies. The elders of these assemblies were called "presbyters," which in the Greek language signifies old men.

Charlemagne in his old age invested the bishops with a right to which his own son fell a victim. They made this prince believe, that in the code digested in the reign of Theodosius, there was a

law importing, that if two laymen carried on a process against each other, and one of them should refer the dispute to the arbitration of a bishop, the other was obliged to submit to his decision, without power of appeal. This law, which had never been put in execution, is deemed by all the critics to be supposition. It is the last of the Theodosian code, without date, and without the names of the consuls. It excited a kind of private civil war between the tribunals of justice and the ministers of the sanctuary, but as at that time all in the West, except the clergy, were in profound ignorance, it is matter of surprise that it did not give still greater power to those, who, having all the little learning to themselves, seemed alone deserving of the prerogative to judge mankind.

In the same manner as the bishops disputed this authority with the laity, the monks began to dispute it with the bishops, although these were their masters by the canons. The monks were already too rich to be submissive. This celebrated formula of Marculfus was already often put in practice: "I, for the repose of my soul, and that I may not after my death be placed among the goats, give and bequeath to such a monastery, etc." Even in the first age of the Church, people believed the world was near an end, and this opinion, gaining ground from one century to another, they bestowed their lands upon the monks, as if they were to be preserved in the general conflagration. Many charters

of donation began with these words: *"Adventante mundi vespero."* A long time before Charlemagne there were Benedictine abbots powerful enough to raise rebellions. An abbot of Fontanelle had the boldness to assemble troops, and put himself at the head of a party against Charles Martel. The hero caused the monk to be beheaded; an execution which contributed not a little to all those relations which so many monks had afterwards, concerning the damnation of Charles Martel. Before that time we find an abbot of St. Remy, of Rheims, together with the bishop of that city, exciting a civil war against Childebert, in the sixth century, a crime which belongs to none but men of power and influence.

The bishops and abbots had a great number of slaves. The abbot Alcuin is reproached with having had no fewer than twenty thousand: nor is this number incredible. Alcuin possessed three abbeys, the lands of which might have been inhabited by twenty thousand persons. These slaves, known by the name of Serfs, could neither marry nor change their habitation without the permission of the abbot. They were obliged to drive their carts fifty leagues, when he commanded this service. They worked for him three days in the week, and he shared all the fruits of their labor. Those Benedictines indeed could not be charged with having by their wealth violated their vow of poverty, for they made no such vow. They took no other engagement at their

admission into the order than that of being obedient to the abbot. They even frequently received grants of uncultivated grounds, which they tilled with their own hands, and afterwards portioned out to the serfs to be cultivated. They raised villages, and even little towns around the monasteries. There they studied, and they alone were the means of preserving books, by transcribing different copies. Finally, in those barbarous times, when all nations were so miserable, it was a great consolation to find in cloisters a secure retreat against tyranny.

In France and Germany more than one bishop went to battle with his serfs. Charlemagne, in a letter to one of his wives, called Frastada, mentions a bishop who had valiantly fought at his side in a battle against the Avars, a people descended from the Scythians, who inhabited the country now called Austria. I find in his time no fewer than fourteen monasteries, which were obliged to find a certain number of soldiers. If an abbot had the least turn for a military life, nothing hindered him from conducting them in person. True it is, in the year 803, a parliament complained to Charlemagne of the great number of priests who had been slain in battle. Then the ministers of the altar were forbidden to expose their lives in the field. No person was permitted to call himself clerk without being of the clergy, or to wear the tonsure unless he belonged to a bishop. These clerks were called Acephali, and they were punished as vagabonds, but people were

then altogether ignorant of that station so common in our days, which is neither secular nor ecclesiastic. The title of Abbé, which signified father, belonged to none but the heads of monasteries.

The abbots, even then, had the pastoral staff, which was borne by the bishops, and had been formerly the badge of the pontifical dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power exercised over the monks by those abbots, that they sometimes condemned them to the most cruel corporal pains. They adopted the barbarous custom practised by the Greek emperors, of burning out their eyes, and it was found necessary that a council should prohibit this outrage, which they began to consider as a right appertaining to their dignity.

The mass was different from what it now is, and still more different from what it had been originally. At first it was a supper; afterwards, the majesty of worship increasing with the number of the faithful, it became gradually what is now called high mass. There was only a common mass in every church before the fifth century. The name of Synaxis, which it has among the Greeks, and which signifies a congregation, the formularies that exist and are addressed to this congregation, plainly prove that private masses must have been long unknown. The sacrifice, the assembly, and the common prayer, were distinguished by the name of *Missa* among the Latins, because, according to some authors, the penitents who did not communicate

were sent back, *mittebantur;* and in the opinion of others, because the communion was sent, *missa erat,* to those who could not come to church.

When the number of priests increased, they were obliged to say private masses. Men of fortune maintained chaplains. Agobard, bishop of Lyons, complained of this practice in the ninth century. Dionysius the Little, in his collection of canons, and many others, confirms the opinion that all the faithful communicated at public mass. In his time they brought along with them the bread and the wine, which the priest consecrated, and each received the bread in his own hands. This bread was fermented, and not yet leavened; and they gave it even to children. The communion in both species was a universal custom under Charlemagne. It is still preserved among the Greeks, and it continued among the Latins until the twelfth century. We find that even in the thirteenth century it was sometimes practised. The author of the relation of the victory obtained in the year 1264, by Charles of Anjou over Mainfroy, records that the knights communicated with bread and wine before the battle. The custom of soaking the bread in the wine was established before the time of Charlemagne; that of sucking the wine through a reed or metal siphon was not introduced till about two hundred years after this period, and was very soon abolished. All these rites and practices were changed, according to

the circumstances of the times, and at the discretion of the pastors.

The Latin was the only church that prayed in a foreign language, unknown to the people. This seeming inconsistency was occasioned by the inundations of barbarians, who introduced their idioms into Europe. The Latins were as yet the only Christians who conferred baptism by simple aspersion, a very natural indulgence to children born in the severe northern climates, and decently suitable to the warm climate of Italy. The ceremony for grown persons was not the same as that for children. The difference was pointed out by nature.

Auricular confession is said to have been introduced as early as the sixth century. The bishops at first exacted of their canons that they should confess to them twice a year, in consequence of the canons enacted by the Council of Attigny in the year 763, and this is the first time that it was expressly commanded. The abbots subjected their monks to this yoke, which was by little and little imposed upon the laity. Public confession was never used in the West, for by that time the barbarians embraced Christianity, the abuse and scandal with which it was attended had abolished it in the East, under the patriarch Nectarius, at the end of the fourth century, but public sinners frequently did public penance in the churches of the West, especially in Spain, where the invasion of the Saracens redoubled the fervor of the Christians, whom they had humbled.

Until the twelfth century, I find no traces of the form of confession, nor of the confessionals established in churches, nor of the previous necessity of confessing immediately before the communion. In the eighth and ninth centuries there were three Lents, and people generally confessed at these three seasons of the year. The commandments of the Church, which were not well understood till after the fourth Council of the Lateran, in the year 1215, imposed the necessity of doing that once a year, which before seems to have been more arbitrary and unsettled.

In the time of Charlemagne the army was provided with confessors. Charlemagne had one for himself by the express title of his office; his name was Waldon, and he was abbot of Augi, near Constance.

Any person was allowed to confess to a layman, and even to a woman in case of necessity, and this permission was of long standing. Thus de Joinville tells us, that when he was in Africa, he confessed a knight and gave him absolution, according to the power with which he was vested. "It is not altogether a sacrament," says St. Thomas, "but it resembles a sacrament."

Confession may be regarded as the most effectual restraint upon secret crimes. The sages of antiquity had embraced the shadow of this salutary practice. Confession was used in expiations among the Egyptians and the Greeks, and in almost all the

celebrations of their mysteries. Marcus Aurelius, when admitted into the mysteries of the Eleusinian Ceres, confessed himself to the Hierophantes.

This custom, so piously established among Christians, was afterwards unhappily the occasion of some fatal abuses, especially during the dissensions between the emperors and the popes, and in the factions of cities, when the priests absolutely refused absolution to those who were not of their own party. This is what was seen in France in the reign of Henry IV., when almost all the father confessors refused absolution to those subjects who acknowledged their lawful sovereign. Such is the deplorable condition of mankind, that the most divine remedies are often converted into the most deadly poison.

The Christian religion had not yet extended northwards, farther than the conquests of Charlemagne. Scandinavia and Denmark, which were at that time called the country of the Normans, were plunged in the grossest idolatry. They worshipped Woden, and fancied that after death the happiness of man consisted in carousing in the hall of Woden, and drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies. We have still extant translations of some of their old ballads, in which this notion is expressed. It was a great deal for them even to believe a future state. Poland was equally savage and idolatrous. The Muscovites, as barbarous as the balance of Tartary, knew scarce enough to be ranked among Pagans,

yet all these nations lived peaceably in their ignorance — happy in being unknown to Charlemagne, who sold so dear the knowledge of Christianity!

The English began to receive the Christian religion, which had been lately carried thither by Constantius Chlorus, the secret protector of that faith which was then under persecution. There, however, it did not prevail; idolatry, for a long time, had the ascendant. Some missionaries from Gaul, indeed, rudely instructed a small number of those islanders. The famous Pelagius, too zealous a defender of human nature, was born, though not educated, in England. We must, therefore, reckon him among the natives of Rome.

Ireland, distinguished by the name of Scotland, and Scotland, known by the appellation of Albany, or the country of the Picts, had likewise received some seeds of Christianity, choked, however, by idolatry, that still predominated. The monk Columba was born in Ireland, in the sixth century, but it appears from his retreat to France, and the monasteries he founded in Burgundy, that there was very little to be done, and a great deal to be feared, by those who fought in Ireland and England for those rich and quiet establishments that were found in other countries, under the shelter of religion. After an almost total extinction of Christianity in England, Scotland, and Ireland, it was revived by conjugal tenderness. Ethelbert, one of the barbarous Anglo-Saxon sovereigns of the Heptarchy,

in England, whose petty kingdom was the province of Kent, where Canterbury stands, was desirous of being allied to a monarch of France, and married a daughter of Childebert, king of Paris. This Christian princess, who crossed the sea, attended by the bishop of Soissons, disposed her husband to receive baptism, in the same manner as Clovis had been subdued by Clotilda. In the year 598, Pope Gregory the Great sent thither Augustine, with some other Roman monks, but they met with little success in converting the people, for one must, at least, understand the language of the country before he can hope to change the religion of the natives. Nevertheless, they were enabled, by the queen's favor, to build a monastery.

It was, properly, the queen who converted the little kingdom of Canterbury. The barbarous subjects, who had no opinions of their own, implicitly followed the example of their sovereigns. This Augustine found no great difficulty in prevailing on Gregory the Great to declare him primate. He wanted to be metropolitan of the Gauls, but Gregory gave him to understand that he could only invest him with the jurisdiction over England: he was, therefore, first archbishop of Canterbury, and first primate of England. One of his monks he created bishop of London, and to another he gave the bishopric of Rochester; but we cannot compare these bishops to anything better than to the prelates of Antioch and Babylon, who are termed bishops

in partibus infidelium. In time, the English hierarchy was formed; their monasteries in particular were extremely rich in the eighth and ninth centuries. They enrolled in the catalogue of saints all the great lords from whom they had received benefactions; hence we find among their saints of those times, seven kings, as many queens, eight princes, and sixteen princesses. Their chronicles relate that ten kings and eleven queens ended their days in cloisters. It is probable that these ten kings and eleven queens caused themselves, in their last moments, to be clad in religious habits, and, perhaps, to be carried into convents: but it is hardly credible that, in good health, they actually renounced the affairs of the public in order to live the life of a recluse.

CHAPTER XIII.

SEQUEL OF THE CUSTOMS THAT PREVAILED IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

The counts appointed by the king administered justice in a summary manner. Each had his separate district assigned to him; and they were obliged to be well versed in the laws, which were neither so difficult nor so numerous as those under which we now live. The process was altogether simple: every man pleaded his own cause in France and Germany. Rome alone, and the countries that depended upon her, still retained many laws and

forms of the Roman Empire. The Lombard laws prevailed in other parts of Hither Italy.

Every count had under him a lieutenant called Viguier, seven Scabini or assessors, and a secretary, Notarius. The counts, in their several jurisdictions, published the order of march in time of war, enrolled the soldiers under the respective captains, and conducted them to the rendezvous, leaving their lieutenants to administer justice in their absence.

The kings sent commissaries with letters patent, *missi Dominici,* who examined the conduct of the counts. Neither these commissaries, nor the counts, except very rarely, condemned criminals to death, or torture: for, exclusive of Saxony, where Charlemagne enacted sanguinary laws, almost all sorts of crimes were bought off, through the rest of the empire. Rebellion alone was punished with death; and the kings reserved the trial to themselves. The Salic law, together with those of the Lombards and the Ripuarian Franks, set a fine upon most other crimes, as we have already observed.

Their jurisprudence, however, which at first sight appears to have been humane, was, in fact, more cruel than ours. It left every man at liberty to do mischief, who could afford to pay for the crimes he had committed. The most gentle law is that which prevents guilt, by laying the most terrible restriction upon iniquity.

Among those Salic laws which were revived by

Charlemagne, there is one that strongly marks the contempt into which the Romans were fallen among those barbarous nations. The Frank who had killed a Roman citizen paid but one thousand and fifty deniers; whereas the Roman paid two thousand and five hundred for having embrued his hands in the blood of a Frank.

In criminal causes that could not be determined by evidence, the parties purged themselves by oath. The defendant was obliged not only to swear himself, but likewise to produce a certain number of witnesses to swear with him. When both parties opposed oath to oath, the cause was sometimes determined by duel, either with a pointed iron, or with the sword, to extremity.

These duels were called, as everybody knows, the judgment of God: such was the name bestowed upon one of the most deplorable follies of that barbarous government. The accused were likewise subjected to the proof, by cold water, boiling water, and red-hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluze has collected all the ancient ceremonies of those trials. They began with the mass, and the defendant received the communion. The cold water was first blessed and then exorcised. The accused person being fettered, was thrown into the water: if he sank to the bottom, he was deemed innocent; if he floated, he was pronounced guilty. M. de Fleury, in his "Ecclesiastical History," says it was a sure method of not finding any person criminal.

For my own part, I dare believe it was a method by which many innocent persons perished. There are many men whose chests are so large, and whose lungs are so light, that they will not sink to the bottom, especially when they are bound with many turns of a thick rope, which, together with the body, forms a volume specifically lighter than water. This unhappy custom, which was later prohibited in the great cities, has been preserved even to our days in many provinces. It has been often imposed even by the judge's sentence, upon those who passed for wizards; for nothing lasts so long as superstition; and it has been the death of many unfortunate wretches.

The judgment of God by hot water was executed by causing the accused person to plunge his naked arm into a tub of boiling water. He was obliged to take up a consecrated ring from the bottom. The judge, in presence of the priests and people, wrapped up the patient's arm in a bag which was sealed with his own seal; and if in three days after the trial, no mark of scalding appeared on the arm, his innocence was acknowledged.

All the historians relate the example of Queen Teutberga, daughter-in-law to the emperor Lotharius, grandson of Charlemagne, who was accused of having committed incest with her brother, though a monk and subdeacon. She nominated a champion, who in her stead underwent the trial of boiling water, in presence of a numerous court; and took

up the ring without being in the least injured. Certain it is, there are secrets that enable persons to bear the action of the fire for some seconds without being hurt. I have seen instances of this nature. These secrets were then more common, as they were then more necessary; but there is none that can render us absolutely impassible. In all probability, upon those strange trials, the proof was inflicted in a manner more or less rigorous, according as the judge desired to condemn or acquit the person accused.

This trial by boiling water was particularly appointed for the conviction of adulterers. These customs were more ancient and extensive than they are commonly imagined. Women accused among the Jews, were subjected by the law of Moses to the proof of the waters of jealousy. They drank, in presence of the priests, some water in which a little consecrated ashes had been thrown; and this water, which was salutary to innocence, made the guilty swell and burst upon the spot.

The learned very well know, that in Sicily the person accused wrote his oath in the temple of the gods called Palici. This was thrown into a basin of water, and if it floated he was acquitted. The temple of Træzenum was famous for the like trials. At the extremity of the East, in Japan, we still find such customs, founded on the simplicity of the primitive times, and that superstition which is common to all nations. The third proof was that of a

red-hot bar of iron, to be carried in the naked hand for the space of nine paces. It was more difficult to deceive the spectator in this than in the other trials; therefore I do not find that any person submitted to it even in those times of ignorance.

With regard to the civil laws, the most remarkable, in my opinion, was that by which a man who had no issue of his own, was at liberty to adopt children. Married men could repudiate their wives in course of law; and after the divorce, they were allowed to contract other conjugal engagements. Marculfus has given us a detail of these laws: but what will perhaps appear more astonishing, though not the less true, is, that in the second book of those formularies published by Marculfus, we find that nothing was more commonly allowed or practised, than a deviation from that famous Salic law by which daughters were excluded from inheritance. A man brought his daughter before the count or commissary, and pronounced words to this effect: "My dear daughter, an ancient and impious custom which prevails among us, deprives female children of all paternal inheritance; having considered this impiety, I am of opinion that, as you have been all equally bestowed upon me by God, I ought to love you all alike: therefore, dear daughter, it is my will that you should inherit by equal portions, with your brothers, in all my lands," etc. Among the Franks, who lived according to the Salic and the Ripuarian laws, the distinction was not known of

noblemen and plebeians; of noblemen *ab avo*, or persons who lived like the nobility. There were but two ranks of people, those that were free, and the serfs, nearly the same as at this day in the Mahometan empires, and in China. The term *nobilis* is but once employed in the capitularies, and that is in the fifth book, to signify the officers, the counts, and the centurions. All the cities of Italy and France were governed by their own municipal laws. The tributes they paid to their sovereigns consisted of forage, provisions, and furniture. For a long time, the emperors and kings maintained their dignity, with their own demesnes, and these taxes paid in kind when they travelled. There is still extant a capitulary of Charlemagne concerning his farms. He there enters into the most circumstantial details, and ordains that an exact account of his flocks should be duly delivered. One of the principal articles of wealth in the country consisted of bees. In a word, the most important affairs, and the most inconsiderable matters of those times, makes us acquainted with laws, manners, and customs, of which scarcely any traces now remain.

CHAPTER XIV.

LOUIS THE DEBONNAIRE.

THE history of the great events of this world is scarcely anything but a detail of crimes. I do not find any age which the ambition of the laity and the

clergy has not filled with horrors. Charlemagne was hardly in his grave when his family and empire were desolated by a civil war.

The archbishops of Milan and Cremona were the first that kindled the flame, on pretence that Bernard, king of Italy, was chief of the Carlovingian house, as being the eldest son of Charlemagne. The true reason, however, is easily found in that turbulency of spirit and mad ambition which avails itself of the very laws made to suppress it. A bishop of Orleans entered into their intrigues, and both the uncle and nephew levied troops, and were ready to come to an engagement at Châlons on the Saône; but the emperor, partly by money, and partly by promises, found means to gain over one-half of the Italian army. Negotiations were now set on foot; or, in other words, each side endeavored to cheat the other. Louis, surnamed the Débonnaire, on account of his being a weak prince, and who was cruel merely from that weakness, caused his nephew's eyes to be put out, though he begged for mercy upon his knees. The unhappy king died three days after this cruel act, of the torments he suffered in his mind and body. He was buried at Milan, with this inscription engraved on his tomb: "Here lies Bernard of holy memory." It would seem that this word "holy" was in those times used as a mere honorary title. After this, Louis caused three of his own brothers to be shaven and shut up in a monastery; being apprehensive lest the blood of

Charlemagne should command too much respect, and light up commotions in the state. But this was not all: the emperor caused all Bernard's friends whom that prince had discovered, in hopes of their obtaining mercy, to be arrested: these met with the same punishment as their king, the clergy only being excepted out of the sentence. Thus those were spared who had been the chief authors of the war, and met with no other chastisement than deposition or banishment. Louis kept fair with the Church; and the Church soon made him sensible that he should have been less cruel and more resolute.

In 817 Louis followed his father's ill example, in giving kingdoms to his children; and not having either the courage or understanding of his father, nor that authority which courage bestows, he exposed himself to the effects of ingratitude; and though too cruel an uncle, and too severe a brother, he was too indulgent a father.

Having made his eldest son, Lotharius, his colleague in the empire, given Aquitaine to the second, Pepin, and Bavaria to Louis, his third son, there still remained an infant whom he had had by a new wife. This was Charles the Bald, who afterwards came to be emperor. Having provided for his other sons, he was resolved not to leave this child, the son of a wife he loved, destitute of dominions.

One of the sources of Louis's misfortunes, and of the number of still greater disasters which have

since disturbed Europe, was the abuse which then began to take its rise, of granting worldly power to those who had renounced the world.

This memorable scene was opened by one Vala, abbot of Corbie, a relation of the emperor's, a man outrageous through a warmth of zeal or spirit of faction, or perhaps both together; and one of the heads of a party which has been so frequently known to cause the greatest evils, by preaching up too rigid a virtue, and to throw everything into confusion, by pretending to reduce all to rule.

In a parliament held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 829, a parliament to which abbots had been admitted, as being lords of very large manors, this Vala openly reproved the emperor as the cause of all the disorders in the state. "It is you," said he, "that are guilty of them." He then proceeded to address himself to each member in particular, in a still more seditious manner, and had even the insolence to accuse the empress Judith of adultery. He strove to prevent and hinder the gifts which the emperor had resolved to bestow on the son he had by this empress; thus he went on disturbing the peace and honor of the royal family, and consequently the state, under the pretext of promoting its welfare.

The emperor being at last enraged at these proceedings, sent Vala back to his convent, from whence he ought never to have come out; and resolving to satisfy his wife, gave the son he had by

her a small part of Germany, towards the Rhine, which is now called Switzerland, and the Franche-Comté.

If the laws of Europe had been founded on paternal authority; and if every mind had been penetrated with a due sense of the necessity of filial respect, as the first of all duties, as I have already shown to be the case in China, the three children of the emperor who had received their crowns from him, would never have rebelled against their father for bestowing an inheritance on a child by a second marriage.

At first they showed their discontent by murmuring; immediately upon this, the abbot of Corbie joined with the abbot of St. Denis, a man of a still more factious spirit; and who by possessing the abbeys of St. Médard, Soissons, and St. Germain-des-Prés, was able to raise troops; which he accordingly did. The bishops of Vienne, Lyons, and Amiens, uniting with these monks, pushed on the princes to engage in a civil war, and declared all who refused to join them rebels to God and the Church. In vain did Louis, instead of raising an army, convoke four councils, in which were made some good but unnecessary laws: his three sons had recourse to arms; and, I believe, this is the first instance we have of three sons joining in rebellion against their father. The emperor himself at length took up arms, and two camps were seen filled with bishops, abbots, and monks: but Gregory

IV. declaring on the side of the princes, his name added great weight to their party. It had already become the interest of the popes to humble the emperors. One Stephen, Gregory's predecessor, had already been installed in the pontifical chair without the consent of Louis the Débonnaire; and the raising disputes between the father and his children seemed a ready means of aggrandizing themselves on their ruins. Pope Gregory then came to France, and threatened the emperor with excommunication, a ceremony which did not at that time carry the same idea which has been since affixed to it; no one then daring to pretend that an excommunicated person was to be deprived of his possessions by excommunication alone. Their intent was to render the party execrable, and cut asunder by this sword all the bands which could attach mankind to him.

The bishops of the emperor's party made use of their privilege, and boldly told the pope: "*Si excommunicaturus veniet, excommunicatus abibit.*" — "That if he came to excommunicate, he himself would return excommunicated." They wrote to him with a noble freedom, treating him indeed like a pope, but at the same time like a brother. Gregory, still more haughty than they, wrote back to them in these words: "The term brother expresses too great an equality; adhere to that of pope; acknowledge my superiority, and know that the authority of my chair is above that of Louis's throne." In short, in

this letter he evaded the oath he had taken to the emperor.

In the midst of this war they entered on negotiations. The pontiff made himself arbiter, and went to meet the emperor in his camp, where he had the same advantage that Louis formerly had over Bernard; he seduced his troops, or at least suffered them to be seduced; and deceived Louis, or was deceived himself by the rebels in whose name he came to speak; and scarcely had he left the camp, when the very same night one-half of the emperor's army went over to his son Lotharius.

This desertion happened in 830 near Basel, and the plain where the pope carried on this negotiation is still called "The Field of Lies." In this situation the unhappy monarch was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to his rebellious children, together with the empress Judith, his wife, the principal object of their hatred: he delivered up to them his son Charles, then only ten years old, and the innocent pretence for this war. In more barbarous times, like those of Clovis and his children, or in a country such as Constantinople, I should not have wondered if they had put Judith and her son, and even the emperor himself, to death; but here the conquerors contented themselves with ordering the empress to be shaven and confined in prison in Lombardy; with shutting up young Charles in the convent of Prum, which is situated in the middle of the forest of Ardennes; and with obliging their father to abdi-

cate the throne. Methinks, in reading the disasters which befell this too affectionate parent, we must at least feel a secret satisfaction in seeing his unnatural sons behave no less ungratefully towards the abbot Vala, who was the first author of all these troubles; and to the pope, who had so effectually carried them on. The pontiff returned to Rome, despised by the conquerors, and Vala shut himself up in a monastery in Italy.

Lotharius, who was so much the more culpable as he had been made copartner in the empire, dragged his father as a prisoner to Compiègne. There had been at that time a fatal abuse introduced into the Church, which forbade the carrying arms, or the exercising any of the civil functions during the time of public penance. These penances were seldom practised, and rarely fell upon any besides some unhappy wretches among the dregs of the people. It was however resolved that the emperor should undergo this infamous punishment under the color of a voluntary and Christian act of humiliation; and to impose upon him a perpetual penance that would degrade him forever.

Louis intimidated, had the meanness to consent to this proposal, which was so insolent in them to make. An archbishop of Rheims, named Hebo, who had been raised from a servile condition to this dignity by Louis himself, contrary to the laws, was the person pitched upon to depose his sovereign and benefactor. The emperor was obliged to make his

appearance, surrounded by thirty bishops, canons, and monks, in the church of Notre Dame, of Soissons. His son Lotharius was present at this ceremony, and seemed to take an unnatural pleasure in the humiliation of his father. A hair-cloth was spread before the altar; and the archbishop ordered the emperor to take off his belt, sword, and coat, and prostrate himself on the hair-cloth. Louis, with his face to the earth, asked for public penance, which he too well deserved for his meanness in submitting to it. The archbishop then obliged him to read aloud a paper in which he was accused of sacrilege and murder; and the unhappy prince read deliberately the list of his crimes, among which it is expressly mentioned, that he had caused his troops to march in Lent, and had called a parliament on Holy Thursday. A *procès-verbal* was prepared of the whole action, which still subsists a monument of insolence and meanness. In this document they do not so much as deign to give Louis the title of emperor: he is there called Dominus Ludovicus, a nobleman, a venerable person.

It has always been customary to support extraordinary proceedings by some former examples. The penance performed by Louis was authorized by the precedent of a certain king of the Visigoths, named Wamba, who reigned in Spain in the year 681, and who, growing weak and childish, had public penance inflicted on him by a council held at Toledo, after which he retired to a cloister, and his son

Herviquez, who succeeded him, acknowledged that he held his crown of the bishops. This fact was cited on this occasion, as if any example could justify a villainous procedure. They likewise alleged the penance of the emperor Theodosius; but this was a very different case. Theodosius had caused fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of Thessalonica to be massacred, not from a sudden emotion of anger, as is so falsely and repeatedly asserted by a number of writers, but in consequence of a long and cool reflection. This deliberate piece of cruelty justly drew upon him the vengeance of a people who had not chosen him to be their butcher. St. Ambrose did a most noble action in refusing him entrance into the Church; and Theodosius was no less prudent in endeavoring to alleviate the hatred of the empire against him, by forbearing to enter the Church during eight months; a poor and insufficient atonement for the most atrocious piece of wickedness that ever sullied the royal character.

Louis was confined for a year in a cell in the convent of St. Médard of Soissons, clothed in sackcloth, as a penitent, without servants, without consolation, and dead to the rest of the world. If he had had but one son he had been lost forever; but his three sons quarrelling about the spoils they had stripped him of, their dissensions restored the father to his liberty and crown.

Having been sent to St. Denis in 834, two of his sons, Louis and Pepin, went there to replace him on

the throne, and restore to his arms his wife and son Charles. The assembly of Soissons was anathematized by another at Thionville; but it cost the archbishop of Rheims only the loss of his fee; moreover, he was only tried and deposed in the vestry; whereas the emperor had been publicly degraded at the foot of the altar. Some other bishops were likewise deposed. The emperor either would not or dared not inflict any greater punishment on them.

Soon after, Louis of Bavaria, one of the same sons who had re-established him on the throne, rebelled against him again: this second defection touched the unhappy father so nearly, that he died of vexation, June 20, 840, in a tent near Mentz, saying: "I forgive Louis, but let him know that he has been the cause of my death."

It is said that he confirmed in a solemn manner, by his last will, the donation made by Pepin and Charlemagne to the church of Rome.

This confirmation is liable to the same doubts as the gifts which it tends to ratify. It can hardly be thought that Charlemagne and his son should have made a present to the pope of Venice, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, countries to which they had at best but a precarious claim to the sovereign jurisdiction. And at what time could Louis dispose of Sicily, which belonged to the Greek emperors, and was moreover infested by the continual inroads of the Barbarians?

CHAPTER XV.

THE STATE OF EUROPE AFTER THE DEATH OF LOUIS THE DEBONNAIRE.

After the death of Charlemagne's son, his empire suffered the same fate as that of Alexander; and, as will hereafter be seen, befell that of the caliphs. Founded suddenly, suddenly it sank to ruin; being rent and divided by internal wars.

It is not to be wondered at, that princes who had dethroned their own father, should be for getting rid of one another; each strove to strip his brother; the emperor Lotharius was for getting all into his own hands. Charles the Bald, king of France, and Louis, king of Bavaria, joined together to oppose him. A son of Pepin, king of Aquitaine — who was son of Louis the Débonnaire, and king after the death of his father — joined Lotharius. These laid the empire waste, in 841, and drained it of its soldiers. In fine, two kings opposed against two kings, and three of these brothers, and the other nephew to them all, gave each other battle at Fontenoy, in the Auxerrois, with a fury truly worthy of a civil war. Several authors affirm, that upwards of a hundred thousand men perished in this action. Indeed we are sure that these writers were not contemporaries, and are therefore at liberty to doubt whether so much blood was really shed. This engagement ended in the defeat of Lotharius, who afterwards

gave the world an example of a policy quite the reverse to that of Charlemagne.

The conqueror of the Saxons had compelled them to submit to Christianity, as a necessary curb; but their frequent revolts, and continual endeavors to return to their own worship, gave convincing proofs of their hatred to a religion which they looked on as their punishment. Lotharius, hoping to attach them to him, granted them full liberty of conscience: the consequence of which was, that one-half of the country relapsed into idolatry, but still remained faithful to their king. The conduct of this prince, and that of his grandfather Charlemagne, may serve to show mankind in how many different ways kings may make religion subservient to their interests.

The misfortunes of Lotharius furnish us with yet another example of this: his two brothers, Charles the Bald, and Louis of Bavaria, assembled a council of bishops and abbots at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which Lotharius was, by the unanimous voice of these prelates, declared to have forfeited his right to the crown, and his subjects absolved of their oath of fidelity. "Do you promise to govern better than he has done?" said they to the two brothers. "We do," replied these two princes. Then said the bishop who presided at the council: "We, by the divine authority invested in us, permit and command you to take the reins of government in his stead."

When we see bishops thus disposing of crowns, we should deceive ourselves, were we to suppose that

they were then what the electors of the empire are at present. They had great authority indeed, but none of them were sovereign princes. The authority annexed to their character, and the veneration the people had for them, were the instruments made use of by kings to serve their own purposes. These ecclesiastics showed much more weakness than grandeur, in thus determining the right of kings, in servile compliance to the orders of the stronger party.

We should not then be surprised, that, a few years afterwards, an archbishop of Sens, with twenty other bishops, should have had the boldness, in a like position, to depose Charles the Bald, king of France. This audacious attempt was undertaken to please Louis, king of Bavaria. These two monarchs, who were as bad kings as they had been unnatural brothers, finding themselves not able to destroy each other, procured one another to be anathematized by turns; but what is really surprising, is the acknowledgment made by Charles the Bald, in a rescript he condescended to publish against the archbishop of Sens, in these words: "At least, the archbishop ought not to have proceeded to depose me, before I had appeared before the bishops who consecrated me king: it was just that I should first have undergone their censure, to whose paternal correction and chastisement I was always ready to submit myself." The race of

Charlemagne reduced to speak in these terms, were visibly marching with long strides to their ruin.

I shall now return to Lotharius, who had still a powerful party in Germany, and remained quiet possessor of Italy. He passed the Alps, and had his son Louis crowned, who afterwards went to Rome to try Pope Sergius II. That pontiff made his appearance in 844, and answered in a formal manner to the allegations brought against him by the bishop of Mentz. In the course of his trial he fully justified himself, and afterwards took an oath of fidelity to that very Lotharius who had been deposed by his bishops. Lotharius himself at the same time made that famous and useless decree, that to prevent seditions, which were so frequent at that time, the pope should no longer be elected by the people; and that the emperor should henceforth be made acquainted whenever the holy see became vacant.

It may appear surprising to find this emperor, who was at times so humble, behaving so haughtily on this occasion; but let it be considered, that he had an army within a little distance of Rome when the pope swore obedience to him, and had none at Aix-la-Chapelle when the bishops deposed him.

Their decree only served as an additional scandal to the desolations of Europe. The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine were at a loss to know whom they were to obey. Cities were every day changing their tyrants, and the countries round about were ravaged in turns by different parties. Nothing was

to be heard of but battles, in which there were always monks, abbots, and bishops, perishing with sword in hand. Hugh, one of the sons of Charlemagne, who had formerly been forced to embrace a monastic life, and afterwards came to be abbot of St. Quentin, was killed before Toulouse, together with the abbot of Farriere; and, at the same time and place, two bishops were made prisoners.

These civil broils ceased for a while, but it was only to return again with redoubled fury. The three brothers, Lotharius, Charles, and Louis, made a fresh division of the empire among themselves, which did but prove a subject for fresh animosities and wars.

The emperor Lotharius, after having thrown all Europe into confusion, without acquiring either success or glory, finding himself growing weak and feeble, turned monk, and retired to the abbey of Prum. He lived however but six days in his new state, and died a fool, after having lived a tyrant.

After the death of this third emperor of the West, there started up new kingdoms in Europe, like heaps of earth after the shock of a mighty earthquake.

Another Lotharius, son of the deceased emperor, gave the name of Lotharingia to a pretty large tract of country called since, by contraction, Lorraine; lying between the Rhine, the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the sea. What we now call Brabant, was then called Upper Lorraine, and the rest Lower Lorraine. At present there is no more remaining of

Upper Lorraine than a small province of that name lately swallowed up in the kingdom of France.

A second son of the emperor Lotharius, named Charles, had Savoy, Dauphiny, and a part of Lyonnais, Provence, and Languedoc. This state composed the kingdom of Arles, so called from the name of its capital, which had formerly been an opulent city, and greatly embellished by the Romans; but was now a poor, petty, insignificant place, as indeed are all the towns on this side the Alps.

A barbarian, by some writers called Solomon, soon after made himself king of Brittany, a part of which still continued in paganism: but all these petty kingdoms sank almost as quickly as they were raised.

The shadow of the Roman Empire still existed. Louis, the second son of Lotharius, who had a part of Italy for his share, was proclaimed emperor by Pope Sergius II., in 855. He did not reside at Rome, nor did he possess the ninth part of Charlemagne's empire, having only an authority in Italy, and that contested by the popes and the dukes of Benevento, who were then in possession of a considerable tract of dominion.

By his death, which happened in 875, if the Salic law had had any degree of weight, with respect to the family of Charlemagne, the empire of right devolved to the elder branch of that house; and Louis of Bavaria, as such, ought to have succeeded his nephew on his dying without children. But

arms and money determined the right to Charles the Bald, who shut up the passages of the Alps against his brother, and hastened to Rome with a body of troops. Regino and the annals of Metz and Fulda tell us for certain, that he purchased the empire of Pope John VIII., who not only made him pay handsomely for it, but, profiting by so favorable a circumstance for raising the authority of his see, gave the empire as a sovereign, and Charles received it as a vassal; declaring that he held it of the pope, in like manner as he had before declared in France, in 859, that he should submit to the decision of the bishops; but he did not care how much he debased his dignity, provided he could but enjoy it.

Under him then the Roman Empire was composed of France and Italy. It is said that he died poisoned by his own physician, who was a Jew, named Sedecias; but no one has ever pretended to say for what reason he committed this crime. What could this physician gain by poisoning his master? Under whom could he enjoy a more happy lot? No writer makes mention of the punishment inflicted on him; and therefore we have a right to doubt the truth of this poisoning story, and content ourselves with reflecting on the ignorance of Christendom at that time, when kings were obliged to send in search of physicians among the Jews and Arabs.

This shadow of an empire still continued to be a bone of contention; Louis the Stammerer, king of France, the son of Charles the Bald, disputed the

possession of it with the other descendants of Charlemagne: but all the parties asked it of the pope. A duke of Spoleto, and a marquis of Tuscany, who had been invested with these states by Charles the Bald, seized on the person of Pope John VIII., and plundered a part of Rome, in order, as they said, to oblige that pontiff to confer the imperial dignity on a king of Bavaria, named Carloman, the eldest of the descendants of Charlemagne. And this Pope John had not only these persecutions to suffer in Rome from Italians, but had just before, in 877, been obliged to pay the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver to the Mahometans, who were possessors of the island of Sicily and the Neapolitan coast. This was the money which Charles the Bald had given him for the empire; but it soon passed from the hands of the pope into those of the Saracens; and the former was even obliged to agree, by an authentic treaty, to pay them the like sum annually.

However, this pontiff, who was a tributary to the Mahometans, and a prisoner in Rome, made his escape, took shipping, and got over to France; where he performed the office of consecrating the emperor Louis the Stammerer, in the city of Troyes, after the example of his predecessors Leo III., Alexander, and Stephen III., who, though persecuted and driven from their own dominions, still continued to dispose of the crowns of other kingdoms.

Under the reign of Charles the Fat, emperor and king of France, the desolations of Europe were redoubled. The farther the blood of Charlemagne ran from its source, the more it degenerated. Charles the Fat was, in 887, declared incapable of reigning, by an assembly of French and German nobles, who deposed him in a council called by himself, at a place near Mentz. This was not the act of a set of bishops, who, while they are basely serving the ambition or revenge of a prince, affect to dispose of crowns; this was an assembly of the principal nobility, who thought they had a right to make choice of the person who was to govern them, and under whose command they were to fight. It is said that Charles the Fat grew weak in intellect; weak he always was, without doubt, since, by his conduct, he had brought himself to such a pass, as to suffer himself to be dethroned, and to lose, at one stroke, all Germany, France, and Italy, and be reduced, at length, to depend upon the charity of the archbishop of Mentz for the common necessaries of life. It is evident, that in these times the natural order of succession was reckoned as nothing, since Arnold, the bastard of Carloman, son of Louis the Stammerer, was declared emperor, and Eudes, or Odo, count of Paris, made king of France. There was then neither the right of birth, nor the acknowledged right of election. Europe was a chaos, in which the strongest rose upon the ruins of the weakest, to be tumbled down, in their turn, by others.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NORMANS TOWARD THE NINTH CENTURY.

EUROPE was now all confusion; everything was divided, everything weak and miserable. This opened a passage to the people of Scandinavia, and those who inhabited the ports of the Baltic Sea. These savages, grown too numerous for the lands they possessed, lands in themselves barren and ungrateful to the laborer's toil; without any manufactures of their own, and destitute of all knowledge of the arts, sought only how to spread themselves at a distance from their own country. Robbery and piracy were as necessary to them, as carnage to beasts of prey. The Germans called these people by the general name of Normans, or men of the North, in the same manner as we still say in general, the corsairs of Barbary, or the Sallee rovers. As early as the fourth century they mingled in the fleets of other barbarians, and assisted in carrying desolation even into Rome and Africa: we have already seen that, during the reign of Charlemagne, they kept at home for fear of slavery. In the time of Louis the Débonnaire they began to cruise abroad. The vast forests with which their country was overspread, furnished them with sufficient quantities of timber for building their vessels, which were worked with two sails and with oars, and would contain about a hundred men, with all

the necessary provisions for a cruise. They used to coast along the seashore, and make descents in those places where they were likely to meet with no resistance, and afterwards return home with what booty they could pick up, of which they made a regular distribution, according to the laws of piracy, as is now done among the pirates on the coast of Barbary. As early as the year 843, we find them entering France by the mouth of the river Seine, and plundering the city of Rouen; another fleet made its way by the river Loire, and laid all the country waste as far as Touraine. The men they took in these cruises they kept in slavery; the women and girls they divided among themselves. They even brought away the young children, in order to train them up to the business of piracy: wherever they landed they cleared all before them, bringing away cattle, movables, and everything that came in their way; and would sometimes sell on one coast what they had brought off from another. The success of their first expeditions excited the avarice of their indigent countrymen. The inhabitants of the seacoast of Germany soon joined them, and entered on board their vessels in like manner as the renegadoes of Provence and Sicily have served in the fleets of Algiers.

In the year 844, they covered the sea with their ships, and made descents almost at the same time on England, France, and Spain. There were no measures taken, indeed, either by the French or English,

to prevent these invasions; but in Spain the sea-coasts were guarded by the Arabs, who, at length, drove these pirates off.

In 845, the Normans plundered the town of Hamburg, and penetrated a considerable way into Germany. They were no longer, as at their first setting out, a confused rabble of pirates without order: they had now a fleet of six hundred barks, containing a very formidable army, and commanded by a king of Denmark, whose name was Eric, under whom they gained two considerable battles before they re-embarked. This piratical prince, after returning home loaded with German spoils, sent one of the admirals of the corsairs, whom historians call Regnier, on an expedition against France: this man sailed up the river Seine with a fleet of a hundred and twenty sail. We can hardly suppose that these hundred and twenty sail could carry twenty thousand men; and yet, with a number probably inferior, he plundered the city of Rouen for the second time, and even advanced as far as Paris. In these kinds of invasions, where the weakness of the government has not provided against such surprises, the apprehension of the people always augments the danger, and the greater number frequently flies before the lesser. This was precisely the case on the present occasion; the Parisians, who at other times had been wont to defend themselves with so much bravery, now abandoned their city to the enemy, who found nothing there but wooden

houses, which they burned to the ground. The unfortunate king, Charles the Bald, who had entrenched himself at St. Denis with a few troops, instead of making head against these barbarians, purchased their retreat for the sum of fourteen thousand marks of silver. It is provoking to read in some of our authors, that many of these barbarians were struck dead for having pillaged the church of St.-Germain-des-Prés. Neither the people nor their saints made the least defence, and yet must the conquered indulge themselves in the pitiful satisfaction of imaginary miracles wrought against their victors.

Charles the Bald, in thus purchasing a peace of these pirates, only furnished them with fresh means for carrying on the war, and deprived himself of those for supporting it. The Normans employed the money they had gotten from Charles in carrying on the siege of Bordeaux, which they took and pillaged; and, to complete the general horror and humiliation, Pepin, king of Aquitaine, a descendant of Charlemagne, finding himself unable to make head against these barbarians, joined them; and then — about 858 — France was totally ravaged. The Normans, having considerably increased in strength by the several parties who had joined them, continued for a long time to spread desolation through Germany, Flanders, and the English coast. We have lately seen armies of one hundred thousand men scarcely able, even after signal victories,

to take two towns; to such a perfection has the art of fortifying and preparing places against an attack, been carried in our times; but in those days, a band of barbarians fighting against other barbarians at variance with each other, found nothing to oppose their incursions after succeeding in the first blow. Sometimes indeed they might be defeated, but then it was only to return with additional force. Godfrey, king of Denmark, to whom Charles the Fat had ceded a part of Holland in the year 882, penetrated thence into Flanders, when his Normans passed from the Somme to the Oise without meeting with any resistance, and took and burned Pontoise; after which they came before Paris by land and water.

The Parisians, in 885, who then expected an irruption of barbarians, did not abandon their city as before. Odo, or Eudes, count of Paris, whose valor afterwards raised him to the throne of France, put the city into such good order, and made such excellent regulations as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and served them instead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi, who commanded the Normans in this expedition, pushed the siege with the most obstinate fury, but yet not destitute of art. He taught his people to use battering-rams for making a breach in the walls, which they at length effected, and then gave three general assaults, which the inhabitants stood with incredible bravery. The Parisians were not headed by Count Eudes only, but

by their bishop Goslin also, who every day, after giving his benediction to the people, mounted the breach in person, and, with a helmet on his head, a quiver of arrows at his back, and an axe at his girdle, after having planted a cross on the ramparts, fought with it in his view. This prelate seems to have had at least as much authority in the city as the count himself; for when Sigefroi endeavored to obtain permission to enter Paris, Goslin was the person to whom he addressed himself. This good bishop died of fatigue in the midst of the siege, leaving behind him a valued and respected memory; for though he armed those hands which religion reserves wholly for the service of the altar, yet it was for the safety of that altar, and of his fellow-citizens, fighting in the most just of all causes, a necessary defence, which is ever above the laws. His brethren had only armed themselves in civil wars, and against Christians: and perhaps if an apotheosis is due to any man, this prelate, who died fighting for his country, had a much better title to heaven than so many obscure people, whose virtues, if they had any, were of little or no real service to the world.

The Normans continued to besiege the city for a year and a half; during which time the inhabitants suffered, with the utmost resolution, all the horrors of famine and contagion, the general concomitants of long sieges. At length the emperor Charles the Fat, king of France, appeared upon the mount of

Mars, since called Montmartre, with a body of forces which he had brought to their relief; but he was afraid to attack the Normans, and only came to purchase a second shameful truce. The barbarians raised the siege of Paris, to invest the city of Sens, and pillage Burgundy, while Charles went to Mentz, and called a parliament, which deprived him of a throne he was so unworthy to possess.

The Normans continued their devastations; though enemies to the name of Christian, it never once entered their thoughts to compel any one to renounce Christianity. They were nearly the same kind of people as the Franks, the Goths, the Alans, the Huns, and the Heruli, who, when in search of new settlements about the fourth century, were so far from imposing a new religion on the Romans that they very readily accommodated themselves to theirs: in like manner the Turks, at the time they ravaged the empire of the caliphs, conformed to the Mahometan religion.

At length Rollo, or Raoul, the most illustrious of these northern banditti, being driven out of Denmark, assembled in Scandinavia all those who were willing to follow his fortunes: with these he went in search of new adventures, founding his hopes of future greatness on the weak and indefensible state in which he knew Europe to be at that time. He landed first in England, where his countrymen were already established: but after two fruitless victories, he turned his view towards France, which others

of the Norman race had found the means to ruin, but had not been able to enslave.

Rollo was the only one of these barbarians who ceased to deserve that name, by seeking for a settled habitation. Having made himself master of Rouen with very little trouble, instead of destroying it, he ordered the towers and walls to be rebuilt, and made it his arsenal, from whence he made excursions at different times into England and France, always making war with as much policy as fury. France was at her last gasp under the reign of Charles the Simple, who had indeed the name of king, but had his monarchy more rent and divided by the dukes, counts, and barons, his subjects, than even by the Normans themselves. Charles the Fat had given only money to the barbarians. Charles the Simple offered Rollo his daughter, and with her a part of his provinces.

Rollo, in 912, demanded Normandy, which Charles thought himself very fortunate to give him. After this he insisted upon Brittany, but here he met with a refusal: however, in the end, Charles was obliged to comply with his demands, and yield him that province, and with such clauses, too, as the strongest generally explains to his own advantage. Thus Brittany, which a little before had been a kingdom, became a fief of Neustria; and Neustria, which quickly came to be called Normandy, from the name of its conquerors, became a separate state, whose dukes paid an empty homage to the crown of France.

The archbishop of Rouen found means to persuade Rollo to become a Christian, that prince being very ready to embrace a religion that secured to him his power.

Those are truly conquerors who know how to make laws. Their power is fixed on a solid basis, whilst that of others passes away like a torrent. Rollo, now grown peaceable, was the only law-giver of his time on the Christian continent. It is well known with what inflexibility he administered justice: he abolished theft among his Danes, who till then had lived only by rapine. For a long time after his death, the very mentioning of his name was a sufficient order to the officers of justice to run and suppress any act of violence; from here came the custom, well known in Normandy, of crying *Haro*. The Danes and Franks mingling together, produced those heroes whom we shall see conquering England, Naples, and Sicily.

CHAPTER XVII.

ENGLAND, TOWARD THE NINTH CENTURY.

The English, now so powerful and famous throughout the world, both in war and commerce, who are governed by the love of their own laws, and that spirit of freedom which consists in obeying the laws only, were a very different people then to what they are at present.

They had lately shaken off the Norman yoke; but

it was only to fall under that of the Saxons, who, having conquered England about the sixth century, were themselves conquered in the eighth by Charlemagne. In 828 these usurpers divided the country into seven cantons, which they called kingdoms: these seven provinces were afterwards united under King Egbert of the Saxon race, when the Normans came to ravage England as well as France. It is said that in 852 these pirates sailed up the Thames with a fleet of three hundred vessels. The English defended themselves no better than their neighbors, the Franks, had done: like them they bought off their conquerors; and one of their kings, named Ethelbert, following the unhappy example of Charles the Bald, gave them money. The same fault met with the same punishment. The pirates made use of this very money to conquer the country more effectually; in short, they overran the better half of the island. Certainly the English, who are by nature brave, and are so well defended by their situation, must have had some very essential defects in their government, since we find them always subdued by people who should not seemingly have invaded them with impunity. The relations of the dreadful ravages that laid this wretched island waste, still surpass those we have already seen in France. There are certain periods in which the whole globe is but one scene of slaughter, and these periods are but too frequent.

It must certainly be pleasing to the reader to

breathe a little after such a scene of horrors, and to behold some great man arise, to rescue his bleeding country from slavery, and govern her like a good king.

I do not think that there ever was in the world a man more worthy of the regard of posterity than Alfred the Great, who did all this for his country, supposing what is related of him to be true.

This prince succeeded his brother, Ethelred I., in 872, who left him only a contested right to the crown and a kingdom more than ever divided into petty sovereignties, most of them occupied by Danes. Almost every year produced a succession of new pirates, who came to invade the coasts and dispute with the first usurpers the little that was left of their former depredations.

Alfred, who was master only of a single province in the west, was soon vanquished by these barbarians, in a pitched battle, and defeated by everybody: yet he did not follow the example of his uncle Butred, who, when driven by the Danes from a small province of which he was king, retired to the English college at Rome; on the contrary, though alone and unassisted, he resolved to perish, or avenge the wrongs of his country. He concealed himself for six months in a shepherd's cottage in the middle of a morass, without imparting the secret to anyone but the earl of Devon, who still continued to defend a weak fortress against the barbarians. After some time this nobleman, having gathered together a

body of forces, gained a small advantage over the enemy. At this juncture Alfred, clothed in a shepherd's tattered dress, ventured into the Danish camp as a player on the harp, where, after being eye-witness of the situation and defects of the camp, and having learned that the barbarians were soon to celebrate a grand festival, he flew to inform the earl of Devon of it, who had some troops in readiness, and marching back to the Danes with this small but resolute army, he surprised them in the midst of their merriment, and gained a complete victory. The Danes were at that time divided by internal factions; and Alfred, who was no less able a negotiator than courageous warrior, was, to the general surprise, unanimously chosen king by the Danes and English. London was now the only place that remained to be conquered, which he took, fortified, and embellished: he then fitted out fleets, kept the English Danes in subjection, and guarded his seacoasts against foreign invasions; and finally employed himself, during a peaceable reign of twelve years, in improving and polishing his country. His laws were mild, but strictly enforced. He was the first who appointed juries and divided England into shires and counties, and encouraged the spirit of commerce among his subjects. We are told that he lent ships and money to certain learned and enterprising men, who made a voyage as far as Alexandria, and from thence passing the isthmus of Suez, traded in the Persian Gulf. He established militias, founded several coun-

cils, and introduced that regularity throughout his kingdom, which is the never-failing source of peace and plenty.

It appears to me, that there never was a truly great man who was not at the same time a person of good understanding. Alfred founded the university of Oxford, and sent to Rome for books, England being at that time so barbarous as not to have any of its own; nay, it is said that he even complained that he had not one priest in all his kingdom who understood Latin; as for himself he was a perfect master of it, and was at the same time a tolerable mathematician for the age he lived in: he had also a competent knowledge of history, and some writers pretend that he wrote poems in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. All the time he had to spare from public occupations was dedicated to study. By a prudent economy he had it in his power to be liberal; for we find that he built several churches, but not one monastery, being doubtless of opinion, that in a depopulated state which wanted recruiting, it would have been but ill serving his country to countenance those numerous families, which, without parents or children, perpetuate themselves at the expense of the nation: for this reason it is, in all probability, that we do not find his name in the catalogue of saints; but history, that reproaches him neither with crimes nor weakness, places him in the first rank of those heroes who have been of service to mankind, who, without such extraordinary personages, would still

have remained in a state little better than that of savage beasts.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SPAIN AND THE MUSSULMANS DURING THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES.

When I turn my eyes towards Spain, I behold misfortunes and revolutions of another kind, which merit our particular attention. Let us then in a few words trace matters back to their source, and recall to our remembrance that the Goths, who usurped this kingdom, and became outwardly Christians, though still as much barbarians as before, were expelled from hence about the eighth century by the Mussulmans of Africa. I am of the opinion that the imbecility of King Wamba, who on that account was shut up in a monastery, was the original cause of the downfall of this kingdom. To his weakness was owing the ravages committed by his successors. Witiza, a prince still more senseless than Wamba, as he added cruelty to his other follies, caused his subjects whom he feared, to be disarmed, and in so doing deprived himself of the benefit of their assistance.

Roderiguez, or Roderick, whose father this Witiza had assassinated, murdered him in his turn, and proved still more wicked than Witiza. We need not therefore look any farther for the cause of the superiority gained by the Mussulmans in Spain. I

cannot say whether it is true that Roderick ravished Florinda, called La Cava, or the wicked, the unhappily famous daughter of Count Julian, who upon this account called in the Moors to assist him in avenging the honor of his family. Perhaps the adventure of Cava is partly copied from that of Lucrece: and indeed neither the one nor the other of these stories seems founded on very authentic proofs. In my opinion there wanted not the pretext of a rape, which is commonly as difficult to prove as to commit, for calling in the Africans; for before that, in the reign of King Wamba, Count Herwig, who was afterwards king himself, had brought over an army of Moors. Opas, archbishop of Seville, who was the principal instrument in this great revolution, had interests of a deeper concern to support than that of a lady's honor. This prelate, who was son to the usurper Witiza, who had been dethroned and murdered by the usurper Roderick, was the person whose ambition occasioned the calling in of the Moors this second time. Count Julian found sufficient reason, in being son-in-law to Witiza, to take up arms against the reigning tyrant, and a bishop named Toriza joined in the conspiracy with the count and the archbishop Opas. Is it likely then that two bishops should have thus trusted themselves with the enemies of the Christian name, merely on account of a woman?

But be that as it will, the Mahometans were the masters, as they are to this day, of all that part of

Africa which had formerly belonged to the Romans, and had but a little time before founded the city of Morocco, near Mount Atlas. The caliph Valid Almanzor, who was sovereign of that delightful part of the world, had his residence at Damascus, in Syria. His viceroy, Muzza, who at that time was governor of Africa, made the entire conquest of all Spain, by one of his lieutenants. Immediately after which he sent his general, Tarik, over thither, who in 711 gained that famous battle in which the tyrant Roderick lost his life. Some say that the Saracens did not observe their engagements with Count Julian, whom they doubtless mistrusted; but Archbishop Opas was better satisfied with them, and swore fidelity to the Mahometan government, under which he continued to preserve a considerable authority over the Christian churches, which were tolerated by the conquerors.

As to King Roderick, he was so little regretted that his widow Egilona publicly espoused young Abdalis, son of the conqueror Muzza, by whose arms her former husband had fallen, and who had reduced her country and religion to a state of slavery.

In the space of fourteen months all Spain was brought under the subjection of the empire of the caliphs, excepting a few scarcely habitable rocks and caverns in the kingdom of Asturias, where Pelagius Teudomer, the Goth, a relation of the late king Roderick, had concealed himself, and thus preserved his

liberty. I cannot conceive why authors have given the title of king to this prince, though indeed worthy of it, since the whole of his royalty consisted in not being a slave. The Spanish historians, and those who have followed their accounts, have made him gain several great victories, fancied miracles in his favor, have settled him a court, and given him his son Favilla, and son-in-law Alphonso, as peaceable successors of this pretended kingdom. But how can it be supposed that the Mahometans, who under Abd-er-Rahman in the year 734 had subdued one-half of France, should have suffered this kingdom of Asturias to remain unmolested on the other side of the Pyrenees? It was a great point for the Christians to be suffered to retire to these mountains and live upon what they could get for paying a tribute to these infidels; nor was it till about the year 759 that they began to be able to make head against their conquerors, weakened by the many defeats they had sustained from the arms of Charles Martel, and their own intestine divisions; but the Christians, still more divided among themselves than the Mahometans, soon relapsed under the former yoke. In 783 Mauregato, to whom historians have been pleased to give the title of king, had leave granted him to govern Asturias and some other neighboring territories, on paying homage and tribute to the Mahometans; and he even consented to furnish one hundred beautiful young women every year for Abd-er-Rahman's seraglio. It had been for a long

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time a custom among the Arabs to exact such kind of tributes from their vassals, and to this day the caravans, among the presents which they make to the wild Arabs, always give a certain number of marriageable young women.

Historians tell us of a deacon named Veremond, who succeeded this Mauregato, and was chief of these mountain refugees, yielded the same homage, and paid the same tribute of handsome women. But is this a kingdom, or can such as these be called kings?

After the death of this Abd-er-Rahman, the emirs or governors of the Spanish provinces aspired to independency. We have already seen, under the article of Charlemagne, that one of them, named Ibna Larabi, had the imprudence to call that conqueror in to his assistance. Now if there had really been any Christian kingdoms existing at that time in Spain, would not Charles have taken such kingdom under his protection, preferably to joining his arms with Mahometans? However, he took this emir under his protection, obliging him to do him homage for the dominions lying between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, which the Mahometans then possessed. We find that in 794 the Moor Abutar did homage to Louis the Débonnaire, who at that time governed Aquitaine under his father, with the title of king.

Some time afterwards the divisions among the Spanish Moors began to increase, which the council of Louis the Débonnaire turned to their own advan-

tage; for they laid siege to Barcelona, which they kept invested for two years, and at length Louis entered it in triumph in the year 796. This was the beginning of the decline of the Moorish Empire. These conquerors were no longer supported by the assistance of the Africans and the caliphs, whose yokes they had thrown off. The successors of Abd-er-Rahman having fixed the seat of their kingdom at Cordova, were but ill obeyed by the governors of the more distant provinces.

At this favorable period it was that Alphonso, of the race of Pelagius, began to render the Spanish Christians who had retired into the mountains of Asturias considerable assistance. He refused to pay the customary tributes to masters whom he knew himself in a condition to dispute with; and after having gained some few victories over them, he found himself in the quiet possession of the kingdoms of Asturias and Leon, at the beginning of the ninth century.

With this prince then we must first look for the revival of Christian kings of Spain. Alphonso was artful and cruel: he is called the Chaste, because he was the first who refused to pay the tribute of the hundred damsels to the Moors; but without reflecting at the same time that it was not on account of refusing this tribute that he incurred the war, but because that being determined to shake off all submission to the Moors, and be no longer tributary

to them, he must have refused the tribute of the virgins as well as every other kind of homage.

The success Alphonso had met with, in spite of the many obstacles he had to encounter, emboldened the Christians of Navarre to choose themselves a king. The inhabitants of Aragon took up arms under one of their counts: thus, towards the latter end of the reign of Louis the Débonnaire, neither the Moors nor the French retained any possessions in those barren countries; but the rest of Spain still continued under the dominion of the Mussulman kings. It was at this time that the Normans ravaged the coasts of Spain; but being quickly repulsed, they returned and plundered France and England.

We must not wonder to find the Spaniards of Asturias, Leon, and Aragon, at that time barbarians. The military life, which succeeded their former servitude, had by no means civilized them; and they were in a state of such profound ignorance that one of the Alphonsos, surnamed the Great, who was king of Leon and Asturias, was obliged to have Mahometan masters for his son.

I cannot get over my astonishment at seeing historians so lavish of their titles to the kings of those times. This Alphonso, whom they style the Great, put out the eyes of four of his brothers; and his whole life was one continued series of cruelties and deceit. This king finished his career with making his subjects take arms against him, and was obliged

to resign his small kingdom to his son, in the year 910.

While these things were transacting, and the Mahometans lost that part of Spain which borders on France, they were extending their dominions on every other side. If I consider their religion, I find it embraced all over India, and the eastern parts of Africa, where they traded. If I view their conquests, I find in the first place, that the caliph Haroun-al-Raschid imposed a yearly tribute of ten thousand crowns of gold, on the empress Irene; and that on the emperor Nicephorus refusing to pay this tribute, Haroun seized upon the island of Cyprus, and proceeded to ravage all Greece. In 826 the lieutenants of his grandson, Al-Mamun, a prince otherwise estimable for his own learning, and the love he bore the sciences, seized on Crete. At this time the city of Candia was built by the Mahometans, who have made themselves masters of it again in our time.

In 828 these same Africans, who had subdued Spain and made incursions into Sicily, returned again to lay waste that fruitful island, being encouraged thereto by one of the natives, named Euphemius, who having, after the example of his emperor Michael, married a nun, and been prosecuted under those very laws which the emperor had made to yield to his desires, acted nearly the same part in Sicily which Count Julian had done in Spain.

So badly were the eastern and western empires

governed at that time that neither of the emperors could drive the Mahometans out of Sicily. These conquerors might have become masters of all Italy had they only been united among themselves, but their mistakes were the means of saving Rome, as those of the Carthaginians had been heretofore. They set sail from Sicily in 846, with a numerous fleet, and sailing up the mouth of the Tiber, where they met with nothing but a desert country, they proceeded to Rome, which they besieged. They soon made themselves masters of the suburbs, and after plundering the rich church of St. Peter without the walls, they raised the siege, to meet and fight an army of French, which was coming to the assistance of Rome, under one of the emperor Lotharius's generals. They beat the French army, but missed taking the city, which had in the meantime been supplied with provisions; so that this expedition, which bid so fair to make a very considerable conquest, through their own misunderstandings ended in nothing more than an incursion of barbarians. However, they returned soon after with such a formidable army as seemed to threaten the total destruction of Italy, and to turn the capital of Christendom into a Mahometan town. In this dangerous conjuncture Pope Leo IV., taking up that authority which Lotharius's generals seemed to have quitted, proved himself worthy, by defending Rome, of being its sovereign. He employed the church treasures in repairing the walls, raising towers, and stretching chains across the river Tiber.

He armed the militia at his own expense, engaged the people of Naples and Gaeta to come to the defence of the coasts, and port of Ostia, taking at the same time the prudent precaution of requiring hostages from them, as well knowing that those who are powerful enough to defend us, are likewise powerful enough to hurt us. He visited all the ports in person, and received the Saracens at their landing, not in the garb of a warrior, as Goslin, bishop of Paris, had done on a like occasion, but in the character of a pontiff who exhorted a Christian people, and a king who watched over the security of his subjects. He was a Roman by birth, and the courage of the first ages of that republic seemed revived in him, at a time of general cowardice and corruption, like one of those noble monuments of ancient Rome, which are sometimes found among the ruins of the modern: nor were his courage and care unseconded; his people adding their effects to his, received the invaders of their country on their landing with the greatest bravery; and a tempest having dispersed most of their ships, a part of those barbarians who had escaped shipwreck were made slaves. The pope made an excellent use of this victory by employing the very hands which had been armed for the destruction of his city, in repairing its fortifications, and beautifying the public edifices. Notwithstanding this check, the Mahometans continued in possession of the coast between Capua and Gaeta; but rather like freebooters than disciplined conquerors.

In the ninth century then I see the Mussulmans formidable both at Rome and at Constantinople; the masters of Persia, Syria, the whole coast of Africa, as far as Mount Atlas, and of three-fourths of the kingdom of Spain: but without forming any nation, like the Romans, who in extending their conquests as far, still made but one people.

About the year 815, a little after the death of Charlemagne, and under the famous caliph Al-Mamun, Egypt was independent, and the city of Grand Cairo was the residence of another caliph. The prince of Mauritania Tinjitana, under the title of the "Miramolin," was absolute sovereign of the empire of Morocco. Nubia and Libya were under the dominion of another caliph. The race of Abd-er-Rahman, who had founded the kingdom of Cordova, could not hinder other Moors from erecting that of Toledo. All these new dynasties reverenced the caliph as a descendant from their prophet; and in like manner as the Christians went in crowds on a pilgrimage to Rome, so did these Mahometans repair from all parts of the world to Mecca, which was under the government of a *sherif*, or *xerif*, appointed by the caliph; and it was principally to this pilgrimage that the caliph, who was master of Mecca, was indebted for that respect and veneration paid him by all the princes of the Mahometan belief. But these princes wisely distinguishing their religion from their political interest, stripped the caliph at the same time that they paid him homage.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES.

WHILE the empire of Charlemagne was thus dismembered, and the inundations of the Saracens and Normans laid waste the whole Western Empire, that of Constantinople still existed, like a large tree, vigorous, though grown old, stripped of some of its roots, and buffeted on every side by storms and tempests. This empire had nothing left in Africa, and had been despoiled of Syria and a part of Asia Minor. It still continued to defend its frontiers towards the eastern coast of the Black Sea against the Mahometans; and sometimes conquering, sometimes conquered, it might, by being continually used to war, have been able at last to strengthen itself against them: but towards the coast of the Danube, and the western borders of the Black Sea, it was ravaged by other enemies. A nation of Scythians, called the Avari, or Avars, also the Bulgarians, another tribe of Scythians, from whom the province of Bulgaria has taken its name, spread desolation over all the fine country of Rumania, where the emperors Adrian and Trajan formerly built such beautiful villas, and those noble highways of which there are only a few causeways now remaining.

The Avars, particularly, spread themselves over Hungary and Austria, falling sometimes upon the

Eastern Empire, and at others on that of Charlemagne. Thus, from the frontiers of Persia to those of France, the globe was a prey to almost continual incursions.

While the frontier of the Greek Empire was every day suffering encroachments and devastations, its capital was the theatre of revolutions and crimes. A mixture of Greek artifice and Thracian ferocity formed the reigning character of that court: and indeed what a spectacle does Constantinople exhibit to the view! The emperor Maurice and his five sons massacred! Phocas assassinated, as a reward for his murders and incestuous proceedings! Constantine poisoned by the empress Martina, who has her tongue pulled out, while the nose of her son Heracleonas is cut off before her face! Constans knocked on the head in the bath by his own servants! Constantine Pogonatus putting out the eyes of his two brothers! Justinian II., his son, while about to act the same scene at Constantinople that Theodosius had done at Thessalonica, is mutilated and laid in irons by Leontius, at the instant that he is going to put to death the principal citizens! Leontius soon afterwards treated in the same manner as he had treated Justinian! This same Justinian restored again, and coolly looking on while the blood of his enemies washes the public market-place, and afterwards dying himself by the hands of the common hangman! Philip Bardanes dethroned and condemned to lose his eyes! Leo the Isaurian, and Constantine

Copronymus, dying indeed in their beds, but after a bloody reign, as unhappy for the prince as for his subjects! The empress Irene, the first woman who mounted the throne of the Cæsars, and the first, too, who murdered her own son to attain the imperial dignity! Nicephorus, her successor, hated by his subjects, taken prisoner by the Bulgarians, beheaded, and thrown for food to the beasts of the field, while his skull is used as a cup by his conquerors! Lastly, Michael Curopalatus, contemporary with Charlemagne, confined in a cloister, dying a less cruel, though not less shameful death than his predecessors! In this manner was the empire governed during the space of two hundred years. What history of private robbers, publicly executed for their crimes, can be more horrid or disgusting?

But we must proceed, and view, in the ninth century, Leo the Armenian, a brave warrior, but an enemy to image worship, assassinated at mass, while he is singing an anthem: his murderers, applauding each other for having killed a heretic, repair to the public prison to release from thence an officer, surnamed Michael the Stammerer, who had been condemned to die by the senate, and, instead of being executed, is invested with the imperial purple. This was the same, who falling in love with a nun, made the senate entreat him to marry her, without any one bishop daring to interfere; and this fact is the more worthy of our attention, as, almost at the same time, we see Euphemius the Sicilian prosecuted for a like

marriage; and that, a little time afterwards, the lawful marriage of the emperor Leo the Philosopher, was condemned in this very city of Constantinople. In what country then must we look for laws and manners at this time? Certainly not in our western hemisphere.

The old quarrel about image worship still disturbed the repose of the empire; the court was sometimes for it, and sometimes against it, according as they found it suit with the disposition of the multitude. Michael the Stammerer began his reign with the consecration of images, and ended it by the demolition of them.

His successor, Theophilus, who reigned about twelve years — namely, from 829 to 842 — declared himself against this worship. Writers tell us that he did not believe in the resurrection, that he denied the existence of evil spirits, and would not acknowledge the divinity of Christ. It is not unlikely that an emperor might think in this manner; but then are we to believe, I do not mean with respect to princes only, but even to private men, the evidence of their enemies, who, without proving one single fact, vilify the religion and morals of men who do not happen to think like themselves?

This Theophilus, the son of Michael the Stammerer, was almost the only emperor who had peaceably succeeded his father for above two centuries. During his reign the image worshippers underwent a greater persecution than ever. These long per-

secutions show us plainly that the people were divided among themselves.

It is remarkable that two women were the restorers of images: one was the empress Irene, the other Theodora, widow of Theophilus.

Theodora, mistress of the empire of the East, during the nonage of her son Michael, persecuted in her turn the enemies of image worship: but in this she carried her zeal, or her politics, still farther than the other party had done: for in Asia Minor there were a great number of the Manichæan sect, who lived quietly and peaceably, because the fury of enthusiasm, which seldom rages but at the first establishment of a sect, was over with them: now these people were grown rich by industry and trade; and, whether the design was upon their treasures, or their opinions, the most severe edicts were issued against them, and enforced with the extremest cruelty. Persecution revived their original fanaticism, and thousands of them died under the torture, while the rest, driven to despair, threw off all subjection, and took up arms in their own defence. In 846 forty thousand of them went over to the Mahometans, and from the peaceable, inoffensive Manichæans, became implacable enemies to the empire; and, joining with the Saracens, carried desolation and havoc through all Asia Minor, to the very gates of the imperial city, which had been depopulated by a dreadful plague in 842, and had become an object of pity.

The plague, properly so called, is, as the small-

pox, a disorder peculiar to the people of Africa, and is brought over to us from those countries in merchant ships. It would soon overspread all Europe were it not for the wise precautions taken in our seaports; and it was very probably owing to the negligence of the government in this particular that it found entrance into the imperial city.

And this very inattention exposed the empire to another scourge: the Russians embarked at the port now called Azov, on the Black Sea, and came and ravaged all the seacoast of the Pontus Euxinus. The Arabs, on the other hand, pushed their conquests beyond Armenia, and into Asia Minor. At length Michael the younger, after a reign of cruelty and misfortunes, was assassinated by Basilius, whom he had raised from the most abject condition, and made partner with him in the empire.

Basilius's administration was not more fortunate than that of his predecessor: this reign is the epoch of the grand schism which divided the Greek Church from the Latin.

The miseries of the empire were not greatly repaired under Leo, called the Philosopher, not from his being an Antoninus, a Marcus Aurelius, a Julian, an Haroun-al-Raschid, or an Alfred, but on account of his being learned. He passes for the first who opened the Turks a way into the empire, who, a long time afterwards, made themselves masters of Constantinople.

It is doubtful whether the Turks — who after-

wards fought against the Saracens, and incorporated with them, were their support and the destroyers of the Greek Empire — had already sent colonies into the countries bordering on the Danube. We have no authentic histories of these emigrations of barbarians.

This is, in all likelihood, the manner of life which mankind had led for a long succession of years: no sooner was a country cultivated than it was invaded by a hungry people, who again in their turns were driven out by others. Do we not find that the Gauls made descents on Italy and penetrated as far as Asia Minor, and have not twenty different nations come from Great Tartary in search of new lands?

Notwithstanding all the disasters that had befallen Constantinople, it continued for a long time to be the most opulent and best peopled of all the Christian cities, and the most eminent for the polite arts. Its situation alone, by which it has the command of two seas, necessarily made it a place of trade. The plague in 842, notwithstanding the great havoc it made, was but a temporary scourge: cities which are the seats of commerce, and where the court holds its residence, are quickly repeopled by the continual concourse from other neighboring nations. Neither the mechanic nor polite arts can be lost in a great capital, which is the residence of the rich.

All these sudden court revolutions, and the crimes of so many emperors, murdered by one another, are storms which never fall upon private heads, who

are left to cultivate in peace the professions which no one envies them.

The riches of the empire were far from being exhausted; we are told, that in 857, Theodora, mother of the emperor Michael, when, much against her will, she was obliged to part with the regency, and was treated nearly in the same manner by her son as Mary of Medici was of late days by Louis XIII., gave the emperor to understand that there was in his treasury a hundred and nine thousand pounds weight of gold, and three hundred thousand of silver.

It was in the power then of a wise administration to have still supported the power of the empire. It was contracted indeed, but not dismembered, often changing its emperors, but always united under the person who swayed the sceptre, and was besides richer, better furnished with resources, and more powerful than that of Germany. Yet it is now no more, and the German Empire still exists.

CHAPTER XX.

ITALY AND THE POPES — DIVORCE OF LOTHARIUS, KING OF LORRAINE — AFFAIRS RELATING TO THE CHURCH IN THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES.

That we may not lose the chain which links together so many events, let us recall to mind with what prudence the popes conducted themselves under Pepin and Charlemagne; how dextrously they stifled all

religious disputes, and in what manner each of them secretly established the foundation of the pontifical grandeur.

Their power had become very great since Gregory IV. repaired the port of Ostia, and Leo IV. fortified Rome at his own expense. But all the popes could not be great men, nor could every conjuncture prove alike favorable to them. Every vacancy of the papal see caused the same disturbances at Rome as the election of a king does in Poland. The pontiff-elect was obliged at the same time to manage the Roman senate, the people, and the emperor. The Roman nobility held a great share in the government; and, at that time, had the choosing of two consuls every year, and the making a prefect, which was a kind of tribune of the people. They had a court of twelve senators, and these had the nomination of the principal officers of the duchy of Rome. This municipal government possessed sometimes a greater, sometimes a lesser degree of authority. The popes of Rome had rather a high degree of credit than any real legislative power.

However, if they were not sovereigns of Rome, they lost no occasion of exercising a supreme authority over the western Church. The bishops set up for judges of kings, and the popes claimed judicial authority over the bishops; but nothing can give us a clearer insight into the numberless disputes about authority, the farrago of religious superstition and weakness, the knavery that prevailed in all

their courts of justice, and the insufficiency of the laws themselves, than the story of the marriage and divorce of Lotharius, king of Lorraine, nephew of Charles the Bald.

Charlemagne had repudiated one of his wives and married another, not only with the approbation of Pope Stephen, but actually in consequence of that pontiff's pressing solicitations. The kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, and Dagobert, had had several wives at a time, without the least murmur being made; and if it was a scandal, it was not attended with any disturbance. Lotharius having married Teutberga, daughter of a duke of Burgundy Transjurane, resolves to put her away on her being accused of incest with her own brother, and to marry his mistress Valrada. What follows of this story is singularly romantic: at first the queen proves her innocence by the trial of boiling water: her champion plunges his hand into a vessel of boiling water, from the bottom of which he brings up a consecrated ring, without appearing to be the least hurt, upon which the king complains of some trick being used in the trial. It is certain, if any such thing was done, that the queen's champion understood the secret of preparing the skin against the action of the boiling water; which, it is said, may be done by rubbing the part a long time with a composition of spirit of vitriol, alum, and the juice of onions. None of the members of our Academy of Sciences have been at the pains to inform themselves relative to this pre-

tended method of trial, with which every mountebank is well acquainted.

In 862 the success of this trial passed for a miracle, and the very decision of the Almighty himself; and yet this Teutberga, justified by Heaven, acknowledges to several bishops, in the presence of her confessor, that she was really guilty of the crime laid to her charge. There is not the least probability that a prince, who was desirous to part with his wife on suspicion of adultery, would ever have thought of accusing her of incest with her brother unless the fact had been publicly known. People seldom think of looking for crimes of so far-fetched and extraordinary a nature and so difficult to be proved: besides, in those days, what we call the point of honor was entirely unknown. Both king and queen were covered with shame in this affair; he by his accusation, and she by her confession. The two national councils met on this occasion and agreed to the divorce.

Pope Nicholas I. dissolved the two councils and deposed Gontier, archbishop of Cologne, who had been the most strenuous in the affair of the divorce: upon which Gontier writes circular letters to all the churches, in these terms: "Though the lord Nicholas, who is called pope, and who looks upon himself as pope and emperor, has excommunicated us, we have withstood his foolish proceedings." And, in another part of his letter, addressing the pope himself, he says: "We do not acknowledge your cursed

sentence; we despise it; and even cast you out of our communion, being satisfied with that of our brethren the bishops, whom you contemn," etc.

A brother of the archbishop of Cologne carried this protest to Rome personally, and laid it on St. Peter's tomb with sword in hand; but, in a little time afterwards, the political state of affairs being changed, the same archbishop changed also, and repaired in person to Monte Cassino, where he prostrated himself at the feet of Pope Adrian, the successor of this Nicholas, whom he thus addressed: "I declare," said he, "before God, and in the presence of His saints, and to you my lord Adrian, sovereign pontiff, and to the bishops who are under your jurisdiction, and to all this assembly, that I humbly submit to the sentence of deposition canonically denounced against me by Pope Nicholas," etc. We may easily conceive how greatly an example of this kind must have strengthened the authority of the Church of Rome; and the nature of the times rendered these examples frequent.

The same Nicholas I. excommunicated the second wife of Lotharius and ordered that prince to take his first wife back again. All Europe took part in these transactions. The emperor Louis II., brother of Charles the Bald, and uncle of Lotharius, instantly declared himself, in the strongest manner, for his nephew against the pope. This emperor, who resided in Italy, bid defiance to Nicholas; this brought on an effusion of blood, and the flames of war were

lighted up in Italy. Negotiations were set on foot and the different parties entered into cabals. Teutberga repaired to Rome to plead her cause there; Valrada, her rival, undertook the same voyage, but dared not proceed with it. Lotharius, finding himself excommunicated, went there in person to ask pardon of Adrian II., successor to Nicholas, fearing lest his uncle Charles the Bald, who had taken arms against him under the banner of the Church, should seize on his kingdom of Lorraine. Adrian II., when he gave him the sacrament at Rome, made him swear that he had not made use of the rights of marriage with Valrada, after the order which Pope Nicholas had sent him to abstain from it. Lotharius accepted this oath, received the sacrament, and died a short time afterwards. The historians of those times have not failed to assert that his sudden death was a punishment on him for his perjury, and that those of his domestics who had taken the same oath with him all died within the year.

The prerogative assumed on this occasion by Nicholas I. and Adrian II. was founded on the false decretals, which were even at that time regarded as the universal code. The civil contract by which a couple were united having become a sacrament, was subject to ecclesiastical decision.

This adventure was the first scandal that happened relating to the marriage of crowned heads in the empire of the West. Since that we have seen the kings of France, Robert, Philip I., and Philip Augus-

tus, excommunicated by the popes on the same occasions, or even for marriages contracted between very distant relations. The national bishops did, for a long time, assume the right of being judges in these causes: the pontiffs of Rome always referred these causes to them.

We shall not pretend to examine in this place how far this new law was useful or detrimental, as we do not write in the character of a civilian or a controversialist: but it is certain that these proceedings occasioned much scandal and disturbance to all the Christian provinces. The ancient Romans and the people of the East were much happier in this point. The rights of the father of a family, and the secrets of the marriage-bed were never laid open to the eye of the public curiosity: they were wholly unacquainted with these kinds of processes relating to marriages and divorces.

This descendant of Charlemagne was the first who ever went three hundred leagues from his own kingdom to plead his cause before a foreign judge and to know what woman he was to love. His subjects were on the brink of falling victims to these unhappy differences. Louis the Débonnaire had been the first example of the power of the bishops over the emperors. Lotharius of Lorraine fixed the epoch of the pope's authority over the bishops. Upon the whole, then, we may gather from the history of these times that there were very few rules for society among the western nations; that the kingdoms

were very weak in laws; and that the Church was very willing to give them new ones.

CHAPTER XXI.

PHOTIUS AND THE SCHISM BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES.

THE weightiest affair in which the Church was then engaged, and which is to this very day of the greatest importance to her, was the origin of the total separation of the Greek and Latin churches. The patriarchal chair of Constantinople being, as well as the throne, the object of ambition, was equally subject to revolutions. The emperor Michael III., being dissatisfied with the patriarch Ignatius, compelled him to sign his own dismission, and put one Photius in his place, who was an eunuch of the palace, a man of great quality, prodigious genius, and universal knowledge. He was master of the horse to Michael, and minister of state. The bishops, to prepare the way for ordaining him patriarch, made him pass through all the requisite degrees in six days' time. The first day he was made monk, because the monks were at that time considered as constituting a part of the hierarchy; the second day he was made lecturer, the third sub-deacon, the next deacon, then priest, and lastly, on Christmas day, 858, was declared patriarch.

Pope Nicholas took part with Ignatius and excommunicated Photius, reproaching him chiefly with

having passed in so short a time from the state of a layman to the dignity of a bishop. To this Photius replied, with reason on his side, that St. Ambrose, governor of Milan, and scarcely in fact a Christian, had with still greater rapidity passed from the one to the other state, and joined the episcopal dignity with that of governor; and accordingly excommunicated the pope in his turn, declaring him deposed from his pontifical function. He then took the title of ecumenical patriarch and openly accused the bishops of the West, who were in the pope's communion, of heresy. The principal objection he brought against them was the holding the procession from the Father and the Son. "A set of men," says he in one of his letters, "sprung out of the darkness of the West, have corrupted all things by their ignorance; and to put the finishing hand to their impiety, have dared to add new words to the sacred symbol authorized by all the councils, by saying, that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Father alone, but from the Son, also, which is at once renouncing all Christianity."

By this passage, and several others of the like kind, we may perceive the superiority the Greek Church affected in all things over that of the Latins. They pretended that the Romish Church was indebted for everything to the Greek, even for the names of their customs, ceremonies, mysteries, and dignities. Baptisms, the eucharist, liturgy, diocese, parish, bishop, priest, deacon, monk, church, all was

Greek; and they looked upon the Latins as so many ignorant scholars, who had rebelled against their masters.

The other subjects of anathema were, that the Latins made use of unleavened bread in the eucharist; that they ate eggs and cheese in Lent; and that their priests did not shave their beards. Strange reasons these for creating a breach between the eastern and western churches!

But every impartial person must allow that Photius was not only the most learned of any of the churchmen of those times, but likewise a great bishop. He followed the conduct of St. Ambrose; for when Basilius, who had murdered the emperor Michael, presented himself to communicate in the church of St. Sophia, he told him with a loud voice "that he was not worthy to approach the holy mysteries, who had his hands yet stained with the blood of his benefactor." Photius did not find a Theodosius in Basilius: that tyrant did an act of justice from a motive of revenge; he deposed Photius and reinstated Ignatius in the patriarchal chair. Rome took advantage of this conjuncture to call, in 869, the eighth ecumenical council at Constantinople, composed of three hundred bishops. The pope's legates presided there, but not one of them knew a word of Greek, and very few of the bishops understood Latin. Photius was, by the general voice, declared an intruder, and condemned to do public penance. The names of the five patriarchs were

signed before that of the pope, which was very extraordinary: for as the legates held the first place, they were undoubtedly entitled to sign the first. In all this session there was not a word mentioned of the disputes which then divided the two churches: their whole aim was to depose Photius.

A short time after, the true patriarch, Ignatius, dying, Photius had the skill to get himself reinstated by the emperor Basilius. Pope John VIII. received him into his communion, acknowledged him as patriarch, wrote to him, and notwithstanding he had been publicly anathematized by the eighth ecumenical council, the pope sent legates to another council at Constantinople, in which Photius was declared innocent by four hundred bishops, three hundred of whom had before signed the sentence of condemnation, and the very legates of the same see of Rome who had concurred in anathematizing him were now the instruments of annulling the decree of the eighth ecumenical council.

How surprisingly do things change with mankind! and how frequently does that become truth, according to particular times and circumstances, which but a little before was false! "Whosoever shall not acknowledge the authority of Photius," cried the legates of John VIII., in full council, "let his lot be with Judas." "Long life to our patriarch, Photius, and to Pope John," replied the council.

Moreover, at the end of the acts of this council we find a letter from the pope to this learned patri-

arch, wherein he says: "We think after the same manner as yourself; we hold for transgressors of the word of God, and rank with Judas, all those who have added to the symbol, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; but we think that it is best to use lenity towards them, and only to exhort them to renounce their blasphemy."

It is evident, then, that the Roman and Greek churches thought differently at that time to what they do now. It happened afterwards that Rome adopted the procession from the Father and the Son; and it even fell out that, in the year 1274, when Michael Palæologus was applying for a new crusade against the Turks, and sent his patriarch and chancellor to the second council of Lyons, they both joined with the council in singing in Latin, *qui ex patre filioque procedit.* But the Greek Church returned to its former opinion, and again seemed to depart from it in the transient union which it made with Pope Eugenius IV. Let mankind from hence learn to tolerate the opinions of each other: here we have seen differences and disputes upon a fundamental point, without either raising disturbances in the state, or bringing any one to the dungeon or the stake.

Those who blame Pope John VIII. for the concession he made to the patriarch Photius do not sufficiently consider that this pontiff stood in need at that time of the assistance of the emperor Basilius. A king of Bulgaria, named Bogoris, overcome by the

artifices of his wife, embraced the Christian religion, after the example of Clovis and King Egbert. It now became a question on which patriarchate this new Christian province was to depend. Constantinople and Rome disputed it with each other: the decision rested with the emperor Basilius. This was, in some measure, the occasion of that condescension which the bishop of Rome showed towards him of Constantinople.

We must not forget that there were cardinals in this council, as well as in the preceding one. This was a title then given to all priests and deacons who assisted the metropolitans with their advice: Rome had them as well as the other churches. They were of some consideration even at that time: but did not sign till after the bishops and abbots.

The pope, both in his letters and by his legates, gave the title of holiness to the patriarch Photius: the other patriarchs are likewise in this council called popes. This is a Greek appellation, and common to all priests; but by degrees it has become the distinguishing title of the metropolitan of Rome.

Pope John VIII. seems to have managed with great prudence; for when his successors, on having a dispute with the Greek empire, adopted the eighth ecumenical council of 869, and rejected that which had absolved Photius, the peace established by John was presently broken. Photius inveighed loudly against the Church of Rome, upbraiding it with heresy in relation to the article *filioque procedit,* the

eating of eggs in Lent, the using of unleavened bread in the eucharist, and several other customs. But the grand point of division was the primacy. Photius and his successors wanted to be the first bishops of Christendom, and could not bear that a bishop of Rome, a city which they looked upon as barbarous, separated by rebellion from the empire, and a prey to any one who thought it worth while to take possession of it, should hold precedency over the bishop of the imperial city. The patriarch of Constantinople, at that time, reckoned all the churches of Sicily and Apulia in his district; and when the holy see came under a foreign dominion it lost at the same time its patrimonial and metropolitan rights in those provinces. The Greek Church held that of Rome in great contempt. The sciences flourished in Constantinople, but in Rome everything fell to decay, even to the Latin tongue itself; and though possessed of more knowledge than any other part of the West, yet the little learning they had bore a strong tincture of the unhappiness of the times. The Greeks now took ample revenge for the superiority the Romans had exercised over them from the time of Lucretia and Cicero to that of Cornelius Tacitus. They never mentioned the Romans but in the most contemptuous manner. Bishop Luitprand, who was sent on an embassy to Constantinople by the Othos, relates that the Greeks, when they spoke of St. Gregory the Great, called him by no other name than Gregory the Dialogist; as his dia-

logues, in truth, seem to be the productions of a very weak genius. But time has changed the face of affairs. The popes have become powerful sovereigns, Rome the centre of politeness and the fine arts, and the Latin Church learned; while the patriarch of Constantinople is at present a slave, or, at best, the bishop of a people in slavery.

Photius, whose life was a scene rather of adversity than glory, was deposed by the intrigues of a party at court and died miserably: however, his successors adhered to his pretensions and supported them with vigor.

Pope John VIII. finished his life in a still more wretched manner; for if we believe the annals of Fulda, he was beaten to death with hammers. The ensuing times will show us the pontifical seat frequently bathed in blood, and Rome the principal, but, at the same time, the most pitiable object of all other nations.

The western church was not as yet disturbed by dogmatical disputes. We barely hear of a trifling contest raised in 814, by one John Godescald, relating to predestination and grace; and I shall take little notice of a kind of epidemic folly with which the people of Dijon were seized in 844, on occasion of one St. Benignus, who, they say, caused convulsions in those who paid their devotions at his tomb. I should not take any notice, I say, of this piece of popular superstition, had it not been revived of later times with great fury, and under almost the same

circumstances. It seems as if the same follies were destined to make their appearance again at stated times on this great theatre of the world: but then good sense is found the same at all times, and nothing has been more wisely said on the modern miracles lately performed at the tomb of a certain deacon of Paris, than what was said by a bishop of Lyons in 844, relating to those of Dijon: "This is a strange sort of saint surely, who maims those who pay their addresses to him. I should think that miracles ought to be performed rather for curing diseases than inflicting them."

But these trifles in no wise disturbed the peace of the West; and theological disputes were in those times held for nothing, because no one thought of growing great by them. They had more weight indeed in the East, because the prelates of that church never being admitted to any share of secular government, studied to make themselves of consequence by the war of the pen. There is yet another reason to be given for the theological calm which reigned in the West — namely, the ignorance of the clergy, which was at least productive of this one good, amidst the numberless evils of which it was otherwise the cause.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE STATE OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TOWARDS THE END OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

THE empire of the West existed now only in name. Arnould, Arnold, or Arnolf, a bastard son of Carloman, made himself master of Germany; but Italy was divided between two lords, both of the blood of Charlemagne, by the mother's side. The one of these was named Guy, duke of Spoleto, the other Berengarius or Berenger, duke of Friuli. Both these lords had been invested with these duchies by Charles the Bald, and both made pretensions to the empire as well as to the kingdom of France. Arnold on his side, in quality of emperor, looked upon France as belonging to him of right; while that kingdom, rent from the empire, was divided between Charles the Simple, who lost it, and King Eudes, great uncle to Hugh Capet, who usurped it.

But there was yet another pretender to the empire, namely, one Bozo, or Bozon, king of Arles. Now at that time, Formosus, the insignificant bishop of unhappy Rome, dared not to refuse the sacred unction to whomsoever was strong enough to demand it. Accordingly he conferred the crown on this Guy, duke of Spoleto. The very next year, 894, he did the same for Berengarius, who was then the conqueror: and not long after he was again obliged to crown Arnold, who came in person, and laid siege

to Rome, which he took by assault. The equivocal oath which Arnold received from the Romans proves that even at that time the popes pretended to the sovereignty of Rome. The form of the oath was as follows: "I swear by the holy mysteries, that, saving my honor, the laws of my country, and the fidelity I owe to my lord Formosus, the pope, I will be true and faithful to the emperor Arnold."

The popes at that time in some measure resembled the caliphs of Bagdad, who were revered by all the Mahometan states, as the heads of their religion; but yet had no other privilege left them than that of bestowing the investiture of kingdoms on those who demanded them sword in hand: but there was this difference between the one and the other, that the caliphs were fallen from their authority, whereas the popes were every day rising in theirs.

In reality there was no longer an empire, either in right or in fact. The Romans, who had submitted themselves to Charlemagne with universal assent, would not, however, acknowledge bastards, foreigners, and persons who were hardly masters of the smallest part of Germany.

The Roman people, in the midst of their humiliation, and intermixture with foreigners, still preserved, as they do to this day, that secret haughtiness which is ever the consequence of former grandeur. They could not bear that the Bructeri, the Chatti, and the Marcomanni should call themselves descendants from their Cæsars, nor that the banks of the Main

and the rude forests of Hercynia should be made the centre of the empire of Titus and Trajan.

It produced an equal mixture of indignation and contempt at Rome, when it was known that after the death of Arnold, in 900, his son Hiludovic, whom we call Louis, had been created emperor of the Romans at three or four years of age, in a sorry village called Forchheim, by a few German barons and bishops. This child was never reckoned among the emperors, though looked upon in Germany as the person who was to succeed to the empire of Charlemagne and the Cæsars; and indeed it was a strange sort of Roman Empire, which had not a foot of country between the Rhine and the Meuse; neither possessed France, nor Burgundy, nor Spain, nor yet any part of Italy; nor had even a single house in Rome that could properly be said to belong to the emperor.

From the time of this Louis, the last German prince of the bastard blood of Charlemagne, and who died in 912, the Roman Empire, now confined to Germany, was in the same condition as France, a country wasted by foreign and domestic wars, and governed by a prince chosen by faction, and obeyed with reluctance.

All governments have their revolutions: there could not be a more amazing one than that which raised those savage Saxons, who were treated by Charlemagne as the Helots of old were by the Lacedæmonians, which raised these people, I say, in the space of one hundred and twelve years, to

that dignity which was now lost to the family of their conqueror. Otho, duke of Saxony, after the death of Louis, by his interest and credit, placed the crown on the head of Conrad, duke of Franconia; and after the death of Conrad, the son of Henry the Fowler, son of Duke Otho of Saxony, was elected emperor. These elections were made in 919 by the conjunction of the several great men who had made themselves hereditary princes in Germany, and the bishops, together with the principal citizens of the towns of the empire, who were called in upon the occasion.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS FIEFS.

Force, which does everything in this world, gave Italy and the two Gauls to the Romans. The Barbarians usurped these conquests from them. Charlemagne's father usurped the two Gauls from the kings of the Franks. The governors under the descendants of Charlemagne, usurped in their turns whatever they could. The kings of Lombardy had already established fiefs in Italy, which served as models for all the dukes and counts from the time of Charles the Bald; and, by degrees, what were at first only governments, came now to be hereditary rights. The bishops of several large sees, already very powerful by their dignity, had but one step further to take in order to become princes;

and this step they were not long in taking. This gave rise to the temporal power of the bishops of Mentz, Cologne, Trier, Würzburg, and a number of others both in Germany and France. The archbishops of Rheims, Lyons, Beauvais, Langres, and Laon laid claim to the royalties, or kings' rights. This assumed power of the clergy did not last long in France; but in Germany it has been confirmed for a considerable time. In short, even abbots at length became princes: witness the abbots of Fulda, of St. Gall, of Kempten, Corbie, etc., who became petty kings, in the very place where not above fourscore years before, they had, with their own hands, cleared the lands which had been bestowed on them, by the charitable proprietors, for their subsistence. All those lords, dukes, counts, marquises, bishops, and abbots paid homage to the sovereign. The origin of this feudal right has long been the subject of inquiry. It may be supposed that it has no other than the ancient custom which has prevailed among all nations, of the stronger imposing a homage and tribute on the weaker. We know that the Roman emperors afterwards gave away lands in perpetuity, on certain conditions; and we have several instances of this, in the lives of Alexander Severus, and the emperor Probus. The Lombards were the first who erected duchies to be held in fief of their kingdom. Spoleto and Benevento were hereditary dukedoms under the kings of Lombardy.

Before the time of Charlemagne, Taffillo held the

dukedom of Bavaria on condition of homage; and this dukedom would have gone to his descendants, if Charlemagne, after conquering this prince, had not dispossessed both the father and the children.

The consequence of this was, that there were few free towns in Germany, therefore little or no trade; and of course not much riches: nay, some of the towns had not even walls to defend them: and this state, which might have been so powerful, was now become so weak, through the number and division of its masters, that the emperor Conrad was obliged to promise a yearly tribute to the Hungarians, Huns, or Pannonians, a people who had been so well kept within bounds by Charlemagne, and were afterwards so humbled by the emperors of the house of Austria; but at that time they seemed to be the same they had been under the famous Attila. They ravaged Germany and the frontiers of France: they made incursions into Italy through Tyrol, after having plundered Bavaria, and then returned loaded with the spoils of the many nations they had overrun.

It was in the reign of Henry the Fowler, that Germany began to emerge a little from its chaos. Its boundaries were then the river Oder, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, the banks of the Rhine, the Scheldt, the Moselle, and the Meuse; and Pomerania and Holstein were its barriers towards the north.

Henry the Fowler must undoubtedly have been a

prince most worthy of reigning. Under him we find the German lords, before so divided, were united. The first fruits of this union were, about 929, the shaking off of the tribute which had been paid to the Hungarians; and a signal victory gained over this nation, which before appeared so formidable. Henry caused most of the cities of Germany to be encompassed with walls. He instituted militias; and some say that he was the inventor of certain military games, which gave the first idea of tournaments. In short, under him Germany began to recover herself; but we do not find that she pretended to be the Roman Empire. Henry the Fowler had been consecrated by the archbishop of Mentz; but neither a legate from the pope, nor any deputy from the people of Rome, assisted at the ceremony. It seems as if Germany, during all this reign, had utterly forgotten Italy.

But it was otherwise under the reign of Otho the Great, whom the German princes, bishops, and abbots, unanimously elected emperor on the death of Henry, his father, in 936. The acknowledged heir of a powerful prince, who has been the founder or restorer of a kingdom, is always more powerful than his father, if he be not wanting in courage and resolution; for he enters upon a career which is already opened for him, and begins where his predecessor had ended. Thus Alexander went farther than his father Philip, Charlemagne than Pepin, and Otho the Great far surpassed Henry the Fowler.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OTHO THE GREAT IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

Otho, who restored a part of the empire of Charlemagne, like him propagated the Christian faith in Germany, by conquest. In 948 he obliged the Danes, by force of arms, to pay him a tribute, and to receive baptism, which had been preached to them above a century before, and which was now utterly abolished among them.

These Danes or Normans, who had conquered Neustria and England, and overrun France and Germany, received law from Otho. He established bishops in Denmark, who were at that time subject to the archbishop of Hamburg, metropolitan of the barbarous churches founded afterwards in Holstein, Sweden, and Denmark. The whole of Christianity consisted then in making the sign of the cross. This prince likewise subdued Bohemia, after an obstinate war. From his time, Bohemia and Denmark were reputed provinces of the empire; but the Danes quickly shook off their yoke.

Otho was now become the most considerable monarch of the western hemisphere, and the arbiter of princes: and so great was his authority at that time, that Louis the Foreigner, king of France, son of Charles the Simple, the descendant of Charlemagne, having come to a council of bishops held by

Otho, near to Mentz, in 948, delivered himself in the following words, which are to be found in the collection of acts of that council.

"I was acknowledged and consecrated king, by the suffrages of all the lords and noblesse of the kingdom of France; notwithstanding which, I have been treacherously driven from my dominions by Hugh, who has detained me as a prisoner, during a whole year, without my being able to obtain my liberty, otherwise than by ceding to him the city of Laon, which was the only town I had left for my Queen Gerberga to hold her court with the rest of my household. If I am accused of any crime that appears to deserve such treatment, I am ready to acquit myself by the judgment of a council, and agreeable to the orders of King Otho; or else by single combat."

This remarkable and important speech serves at once to prove several things, namely: the great power of Otho; the weakness of France; the practice of single combats, and the established custom of bestowing crowns, not according to hereditary right, but by the suffrages of the lords and great men of the nation: a custom soon after utterly abolished in France.

Such was the power of Otho the Great, when he was invited to pass the Alps by the Italians themselves; who, ever factious and feeble, could neither submit to be governed by their own countrymen, to remain free; nor were able to defend themselves,

at the same time, against the Saracens and Hungarians, who still infested Italy by their incursions.

Italy, which even in its ruins was the richest and most flourishing country of the West, was incessantly torn in pieces by tyrants. But, in all these divisions, Rome still continued to be the spring which gave motion to all the other cities of Italy. If we reflect on what Paris was in the time of the League; and again, under the reign of Charles the Mad; and what London was under the unhappy Charles I., we shall have some idea of the state of Rome in the tenth century. The pontifical chair was oppressed, dishonored, and frequently stained with blood; and the elections of the popes were carried on in a manner, of which there has been no example, either in former or succeeding times.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PAPACY IN THE TENTH CENTURY, BEFORE OTHO THE GREAT MADE HIMSELF MASTER OF ROME.

The scandals and internal divisions which gave so much trouble to Rome and its church in the tenth century, and which continued for so long a time, happened neither under the Greek nor Latin emperors, nor yet under the kings of Lombardy, nor during the reign of Charlemagne. They were evidently the consequences of anarchy: and this anarchy was occasioned by those very steps which were taken by the popes to prevent it; when, through a mistaken pol-

icy, they invited the Franks into Italy. Had they really been in possession of all the territories which they pretended Charlemagne had given to them, they would have been much more powerful sovereigns than they are even at present. The order and rule of elections and administration would have been the same as they are now. But all their pretensions were disputed them. Italy was ever the object of ambition to foreigners, and the fate of Rome always uncertain. Let it still be remembered that the principal object of the Romans was to restore the ancient republic; that tyrants were starting up in different parts of Italy and Rome; that the elections were seldom, if ever, free; and that everything was carried by faction and cabal.

Pope Formosus, son of Leo the Priest, when bishop of Oporto, had headed a faction against Pope John VIII., for which he had twice been excommunicated by that pontiff; but these excommunications, which afterwards became so terrible to crowned heads, were of so little consequence to Formosus that he got himself elected pope in 890.

Stephen VI. or VII., also the son of a priest, and who succeeded Formosus, joined all the virulence of faction to the spirit of fanaticism; and, having always been the declared enemy of Formosus while living, ordered his dead body, which had been embalmed, to be taken up again, caused it to be clad in the pontifical robes, and brought before a council, which had been purposely assembled to sit in judg-

ment on his memory. The deceased had counsel allowed him, and was tried in form; and the lifeless trunk was found guilty of having exchanged bishoprics, by quitting the see of Oporto for that of Rome: for which it was condemned to have its head struck off by the hangman, three of the fingers of the right hand cut off, and the body cast into the Tiber; which sentence was accordingly executed in 897.

Stephen rendered himself so odious by this no less ridiculous than horrible farce, that the friends of the deceased Formosus quickly found means to raise the citizens against him, who loaded him with chains, and cast him into prison where, soon after, he was strangled.

The faction who deposed Stephen caused diligent search to be made for the body of Formosus, which they interred in a pontifical manner, for the second time.

These disputes only served to inflame the minds of the people. Sergius III., who filled all Rome with his intrigues to get himself elected pope, was banished by his rival John IX., a friend of Formosus; but, being acknowledged pope, after the death of John IX., he again condemned the memory of Formosus. During these troubles, in 907, Theodora, mother of Marozia, whom she afterwards married to the marquis of Tuscany, with another Theodora, all three of them notorious for their amours, bore the principal sway in Rome. Sergius owed his

election entirely to his mother, Theodora; and, during the time of his pontificate, he had a son by Marozia, whom he publicly educated in his palace. This pontiff does not appear to have been hated by the pope of Rome, who, being naturally addicted to debauchery, rather followed, than censured, his example.

After his decease, in 912, the two sisters, Marozia and Theodora, procured the papal chair for one of their favorites named Lando; but this Lando dying in a short time, the younger Theodora got her gallant, John X., chosen pope, who had been bishop of Bologna, afterwards of Ravenna, and now of Rome. However, he escaped the censure that had fallen on Formosus for having exchanged bishoprics. These popes, whom posterity have been taught to look upon as irreligious prelates, were, however, far from being bad princes. This John X., whom love had made a pope, was a man endowed with a great share of genius and courage. He did more than all his predecessors had been able to do. He drove the Saracens out of that part of Italy called the Garrillan.

In order to render this expedition successful, he artfully prevailed on the emperor of Constantinople to furnish him with a body of troops, though this emperor had as much reason to complain of the rebellious Romans as of the Saracens. He obliged the count of Capua to take up arms, and got the militia of Tuscany to join him. He then put him-

self at the head of his army, taking with him a young son of Marozia and the marquis Adelbert; and, marching against the Mahometans, drove them from the neighborhood of Rome; after which he formed the project of delivering Italy from the Germans and other foreigners.

Italy was then invaded, almost at the same time, by the two Berengers, by a king of Burgundy, and by a king of Arles; but this active pontiff prevented them all from having any mastery in Rome. However, some few years after, Guy, uterine brother to Hugh, king of Arles, and the tyrant of Italy, having married Marozia, who was all powerful at Rome; this very Marozia conspired against the pope, who had been so long her sister's gallant, and had him seized, imprisoned, and smothered between two mattresses.

In 929, Marozia, now mistress of Rome, procured one Leo to be elected pope, whom, a few months after, she caused to be thrown into prison and murdered. After this, she gave the chair to an obscure fellow, who lived but two years; and at last she conferred the papal dignity on her own son, John XI., the fruit of her adulterous relations with Sergius III.

In 931 John XI. was but barely twenty-four years old when his mother made him pope; she invested him with this dignity, on condition that he should confine himself to his episcopal functions, and be no other than her chaplain.

It is said, this Marozia afterwards poisoned her husband, Guy, marquis of Tuscany. It is a fact, that she married her husband's brother, Hugh, king of Lombardy, whom she put in possession of Rome, in hopes that she should enjoy the imperial dignity in conjunction with him. But a son of hers, by a first marriage, headed the Romans against his own mother, and drove Hugh out of Rome, and confined Marozia, and the pope, her son, in Adrian's Mole, now called the castle of St. Angelo. Some say that John XI. was poisoned in prison.

Stephen VIII., a German by birth, was created pope in 939; but, on account of his country, he proved so odious to the Romans, that, in a tumult which arose in the city, the people so disfigured his face, that he could never afterwards appear in public.

Some time after, in 956, a grandson of Marozia, named Octavian Sporco, by the great interest his family had in Rome, was elected pope at the age of eighteen. He took the name of John XII. out of respect to the memory of John XI., his uncle. He was the first pope who changed his name on his accession to the pontificate. He was not in orders when his friends elected him pope. This John XII. was a patrician, or nobleman of Rome; and, being possessed of the same dignity which Charlemagne formerly had, he united in the pontifical chair the privileges of both temporal and spiritual authority, by a power whose legality could not be contested.

But he was young, sunk in debauchery, and, in other respects, far from being a powerful prince.

It is surprising, that under so many scandalous and impotent popes, the church of Rome lost neither her prerogatives nor pretensions. But then indeed it is to be considered that all the other churches were under much the same kind of government. The Italian clergy might despise such popes, but they respected the papal function, because they aspired to that dignity themselves: in short, the public opinion held the place sacred, however detestable the person might be.

While Rome and the Church were thus torn in pieces, Berengarius, surnamed the Younger, disputed the possession of Italy with Hugh, king of Arles. The Italians, as Luitprand, a contemporary writer, always expresses himself, wanted two masters, that they might in fact be subject to none, a policy equally false and fatal to their peace, as it produced a continual succession of new tyrants, and new calamities.

Such was the deplorable state of this fine country, when Otho the Great was invited there by the complaints of almost all the towns, and even by this young Pope John XII., who was reduced, through the necessity of his affairs, to implore the assistance of Germans; a people of all others the most odious to him.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF OTHO, AND OF THE STATE OF ITALY.

Otho entered Italy in 961, where he behaved as Charlemagne had done before him. He conquered Berengarius, who aspired to the sovereignty, and in 962 caused himself to be consecrated and crowned emperor of the Romans, by the hand of the pope; after which he took the name of Cæsar and Augustus, and compelled the pope to swear allegiance to him, upon the tomb where the body of St. Peter is said to be deposited. An authentic instrument of this act was drawn up; and the clergy and nobility of Rome obliged themselves never to elect a pope, but in presence of the emperor's commissioners. In this act Otho confirms the donations made to the see of Rome, by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Débonnaire, without specifying the donations in dispute; "Saving in all things," says he, "our authority, and that of our son and descendants." This instrument, written in letters of gold, and signed by seven German bishops, five counts, two abbots, and a number of Italian priests, is still preserved in the castle of St. Angelo. It is dated Feb. 13, 962.

Some writers say, and Mézeray after them, that Lotharius, king of France, and Hugh Capet, who was afterwards king, assisted at the coronation of

Otho. It is certain that the kings of France were at that time so weak, that they might serve as an ornament at the coronation of an emperor; but neither the name of Lotharius, nor of Hugh Capet, is to be met with among those who signed this act.

The pope having thus given himself a master when he only wanted a protector, soon proved false to his oath, and entered into a league against the emperor with Berengarius himself, who had been driven to take refuge with the Mahometans, settled on the coast of Provence. He sent to Rome for Berengarius' son, while Otho was at Pavia. He sent likewise to the Hungarians, to engage them to make incursions again on Germany. But he wanted power to carry him through this bold undertaking, and the emperor was strong enough to punish him for it.

Otho then returned immediately from Pavia to Rome, and having secured the city, called a council, in which he brought the pope to a formal trial. He convened the German and Roman lords, forty bishops, and seventeen cardinals, in the church of St. Peter, where, in presence of all the people, he publicly accused the holy father of having lain with several women, particularly one Etienette, who died in child-bed. The other heads of accusation were, that he had made a child of ten years of age bishop of Lodi; that he had made a sale of ordinations and benefices; that he had put out the eyes of one of his relations; that he had caused a cardinal to be

castrated, and afterwards put to death: in fine, that he did not believe in Jesus Christ, and had invoked the devil; two things which seem to contradict each other. Thus, as it generally happens, they blended falsehood and truth in their accusations; but not a syllable was mentioned of the true reason of assembling the council, the emperor being doubtless apprehensive of stirring up anew that revolt and conspiracy, in which even the pope's accusers themselves had been concerned. However, this young pontiff, who was then only twenty-seven years of age, appears to have been deposed for his incestuous and scandalous amours, though it was in truth only for having endeavored, like every other Roman, to overthrow the German power and authority in Rome.

Otho could not seize on the person of this pope; or if he could, he was guilty of a great oversight in leaving him his liberty: for no sooner had he elected Pope Leo VIII. in his stead, who, if we will believe Arnold, bishop of Orleans, was neither a churchman, nor even a Christian; scarcely had he received the homage of this new pontiff of his own making, and quitted Rome, from which certainly he ought not to have withdrawn himself, while affairs were in that situation, than John XII. had the courage to stir up the Romans again, and opposing council to council, Leo VIII. was deposed, and at the same time an act was passed, declaring, "that no inferior could ever degrade his superior."

By this decree, the pope not only meant, that the bishops and cardinals could never depose the pope, but likewise hinted at the emperor, whom the bishops of Rome always regarded as a layman, who owed to the Church the very homage and oath of allegiance which he exacted from her. The cardinal named John, who had written and read the accusations against the pope, had his right hand cut off, and the person who acted as register to the council who deposed him, had his tongue plucked out, and his nose and two of his fingers cut off.

And yet in all these councils, which were guided by the spirit of faction and revenge, they constantly quoted the gospels and the fathers, and implored the light of the Holy Spirit, in whose name they pretended to speak, and even passed some useful regulations; so that a person who reads those acts, without knowing something of history, would be tempted to believe that he was reading the acts of saints.

All this was done almost under the emperor's eye; and who can tell how far the courage and resentment of the young pontiff, and the revolt of the people in his favor, together with the natural antipathy which all the other towns of Italy bore to the German government, might have carried this revolution? But Pope John XII. was murdered about three months after, in 964, in the arms of a married woman, whose husband, with his own hands, avenged the injury done to his honor. Wri-

ters tell us, that he did not believe in the religion of which he was pontiff, and refused when dying, to receive the sacrament.

This pope, or rather patrician, had instilled such courage into the Roman people, that even after his death, they had the resolution to stand a siege, and did not yield till they were driven to the last extremity. Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, was now master of Italy, as well as Germany.

Pope Leo, a pontiff of Otho's own creation, together with the senate, the heads of the people, and the Roman clergy, solemnly assembled in the church of St. John Lateran, confirmed the emperor's right of choosing a successor to the kingdom of Italy, of confirming the election of a pope, and of giving the investiture to bishops. After all these treaties and oaths extorted by fear, the emperor should have resided at Rome, to see them observed.

Scarce was Otho returned back to Germany, when the Romans resolved to make another effort to recover their freedom; they seized on their new pope, the emperor's creature, and threw him into prison. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes of the people, and the senate, attempted to revive their ancient laws; but what at one time is an heroic action, at another becomes a seditious revolt. In 966 Otho hastens back to Italy, hangs a part of the senate, and causes the prefect of Rome, who aimed at being a second Brutus, to be publicly whipped naked through the streets upon an ass, and

afterwards thrown into a dungeon, where he died of hunger.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EMPERORS OTHO II. AND III., AND ROME.

This was nearly the situation of Rome, under Otho the Great, and his successors, Otho II. and III. The Germans held the Romans in subjection, and these embraced every opportunity of throwing off the yoke, when it was in their power.

A pope who had been elected by the emperor's order, or at least nominated by him, became the object of general detestation with the people of Rome, who still cherished in their hearts the design of restoring the ancient republic; but this noble ambition was productive only of a series of the most dreadful and humiliating calamities.

Otho II. marches to Rome against his father. What a government! What an empire! And what a pontificate! A consul named Crescentius, son of Pope John X. and the famous Marozia, receiving with this title, a settled hatred to royalty, armed Rome against Otho II. He caused Pope Benedict VI., the emperor's creature, to be murdered in prison; and Otho, though at a distance, having by his authority, during these disorders, conferred the papal see on the chancellor of the empire in Italy, he was made pope by the name of John XIV. This unhappy prelate was a new victim sacrificed

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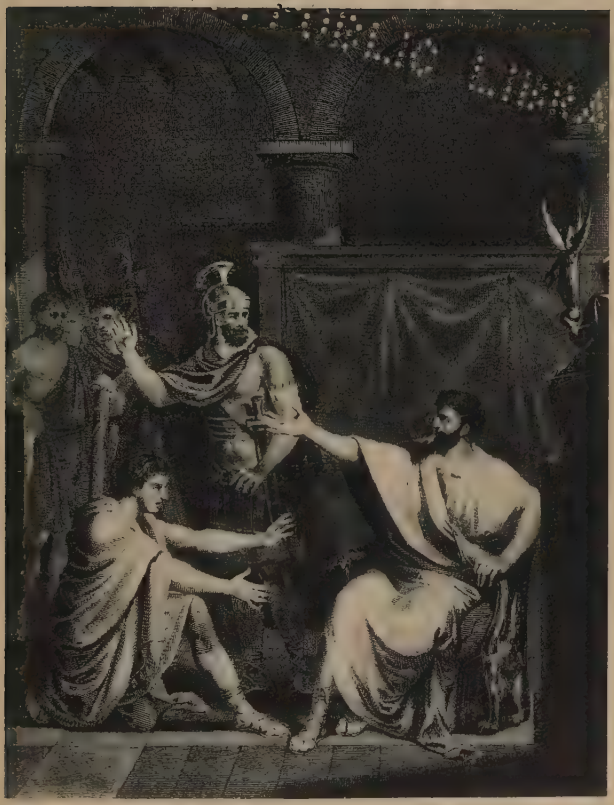
afterwards thrown into a [illegible]
hunger.

BRUTUS SENTENCES HIS SON



by the Roman party. Pope Boniface VII., the creature of the consul Crescentius, though already stained with the blood of Benedict VI., caused John XIV. likewise to be put to death. The times of Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius, did not produce more deplorable calamities, nor more horrid barbarities. But the villainies and misfortunes of these popes are as obscure as themselves. These bloody tragedies were performed on the theatre of Rome, when the city had grown weak; whereas those of the Cæsars had all the known world for their theatre.

While these things were going on, in 981, Otho II. arrives at Rome. The popes had formerly shaken off the yoke of the emperors of the East, by calling the Franks into Italy. What did they in this present conjuncture? They seemed in appearance ready to return under their old masters, and having imprudently called in the Saxon kings, they are now for driving them out again. This very Boniface VII. went in person to Constantinople, to press the emperors Basil and Constantine to come and restore the throne of the Cæsars in Rome. This unhappy city knew not truly what it was, nor to whom it belonged. The consul Crescentius, and the senate, were for restoring the ancient republic: the pope was in fact neither for having a republic nor a master: Otho II. was resolved to reign despotically. He entered Rome, and invited the principal senators and followers of Crescentius to an entertainment where, if we believe Godfrey of Viterbo, he caused

them all to be put to the sword. Thus was the pope delivered by the hands of his enemy, from the senators of the republican party. But he wanted besides to get rid of the tyrant himself; and as if the troops of the emperor of the East, which filled all the neighborhood of Rome, were not sufficient, the pope called in the Saracens also. If the massacre of the senators at this bloody banquet, such as it is related by Godfrey, be true, it was doubtless much better to have Mahometans for protectors, than this cruel Saxon for master. After being beaten several times by the Greeks and Mahometans, he was at length made prisoner, but contrived means of escaping; and taking advantage of the divisions existing among his enemies, he again entered Rome, where he died in 983.

After his death, the consul Crescentius maintained for a little time the shadow of the Roman republic. He drove Gregory V., nephew to Otho III., from the papal chair: but at length Rome was again besieged and taken, and Crescentius, who suffered himself to be drawn from his place of security in the castle of St. Angelo, by the hopes of an accommodation, and on the faith of the emperor's solemn promise, had his head struck off, after which his body was hung up by the heels; and the new pope, elected by the people of Rome, under the name of John XV., had his eyes put out, and his nose cut off, and in this condition was thrown from the top of the castle of St. Angelo into the market-place.

The people of Rome then renewed to Otho III. the oaths they had sworn to Otho I. and to Charlemagne; and the new emperor, on his side, made an assignment of the lands in the march of Ancona, to the popes, to support their dignity.

After the death of the three Othos, the struggle for the German sovereignty and the liberty of Italy remained for a long time on the same footing. Under the emperors Henry II. of Bavaria, and Conrad II., named the Salic, whenever the emperor was employed in Germany, a party was formed in Italy. Henry II. like the Othos, immediately went there, to disperse factions, to confirm the popes in the donations they had received from former emperors, and to receive the same homage. In the meantime, however, the papal see was put up to the highest bidder, as well as all the other bishoprics.

Benedict VIII. and John XIX. purchased it publicly one after the other. They were brothers of the family of the marquis of Tuscany, which had always borne a great sway in Rome, since the time of Marozia, and the two Theodoras.

After their deaths, in 1034, in order to perpetuate the pontifical dignity in their family, the suffrages were purchased for a child of twelve years old. This was Benedict IX., who got the bishopric of Rome in the same manner as we at present see a number of families privately purchase benefices for their children.

This irregularity had no bounds; for in the

pontificate of this Benedict IX. there were two other popes elected by dint of money; and thus there were seen three popes at the same time in Rome, excommunicating each other: but by a happy agreement, these seeds of civil war were stifled in their beginning; and the three pontiffs mutually consented to divide the revenues of the Church between them, and to live in peace, each with his mistress.

This pacific, and very extraordinary triumvirate lasted no longer than there was money to be had; and at length, when that began to fall short, each sold his share of the pontificate to Gratian, a deacon, a man of quality, and very rich. But as young Benedict had been elected a long time before the other two, they left him by a solemn agreement, the enjoyment of the tributes paid by England to Rome, called Peter's Pence, to which a Danish king of England, named Etelvolft, Edelvoft, or Ethelwulph, had submitted himself and kingdom, in 852.

This Gratian, who assumed the name of Gregory VI., was in peaceable possession of the pontificate, when the emperor Henry III., son of Conrad II., called the Salic, came to Rome.

Never did any emperor exercise a fuller authority. He banished Gregory VI. and named for pope one Suiger, his chancellor, bishop of Bamberg, without anyone daring to murmur at it.

In 1048, after the death of this German, who in the list of popes, is called Clement II., the emperor, who was then in Germany, made a Bavarian pon-

tiff in his stead. This is the Damasus II., who went with the emperor's brief to Rome, where he was installed, notwithstanding all the efforts of this Benedict IX., who wanted to get again into the chair, after having sold it a very little before.

This Bavarian, living but twenty-three days after his installation, the emperor gave the papacy to his cousin Bruno, of the family of Lorraine, whom he transferred from the see of Toul, to that of Rome, by his absolute authority. Had the emperors kept this authority, the popes would have been no better than their chaplains, and Italy an enslaved country.

This pontiff, who took the name of Leo IX., and has been ranked in the number of saints, will be soon seen at the head of an army fighting against the Norman princes, founders of the kingdom of Naples, and falling into their hands a captive.

Could the emperors have fixed their residence at Rome, we may see that by the weakness of the Romans, the divisions in Italy, and the greatness of the German power, they must have always been masters of the popes; and that there would in effect have been a Roman Empire. But these elective kings of Germany could not reside in Rome, at such a distance from the other princes of Germany, who were become too formidable to their sovereigns; the neighboring states being always ready to invade the frontiers, which made it necessary to take arms at different times, against the Danes, the Poles, and the Hungarians. This it was that saved Italy, for

some time, from a yoke, which it would otherwise in vain have attempted to resist.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FRANCE IN THE TIME OF HUGH CAPET.

WHILE Germany thus began to put on a new form of government, and Rome and Italy were without any, France became like Germany, a government entirely feudal.

This kingdom extended from the countries about the Scheldt and the Meuse, to the English channel, and from the Pyrenean mountains to the Rhone; these were at that time its bounds; for though so many historians pretend that this great fief extended beyond the Pyrenees, as far as the Ebro, it does not at all appear, that the Spaniards of those provinces, lying between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, were subject to the feeble government of France, at the time they were fighting against the Moors.

France, in which neither Provence nor Dauphiny were included, was a kingdom of a pretty large extent; but the king of France was far from being a powerful sovereign. Louis, the last of the descendants of Charlemagne, had no other demesnes, but the cities of Laon and Soissons, and some few territories besides, which were disputed him. The homage yielded by Normandy only served to give

the king of France a vassal, who was able to keep his master in pay. Each province had either its hereditary counts or dukes; he who could only seize upon two or three small villages, paid homage to the usurper of a province; and he who had only a castle, held of him who had taken possession of a town: all which produced a monstrous assemblage of members, without any compact body.

Time and necessity established it as a custom, that the lords or possessors of great fiefs, should march with troops to the assistance of the king. One lord owed him forty days' service, another twenty-five, and the under-vassals marched at the orders of their immediate lords. But if these lords served the state for a few days, they made war with one another almost the year round. In vain did the councils, which in these wicked times frequently made very just laws, enact, that no one should fight from Thursday until Monday at break of day, nor during Lent, nor in other solemn seasons. These regulations, not being supported by any coercive power, proved of no effect. Every castle was the capital of a small state of banditti, and every monastery an armed garrison. The advocates, whom they called *avoyers,* and who were originally instituted to present their petitions to the prince, and manage their temporal affairs, were now the generals of their troops: the harvests were either burned, cut down before their time, or defended sword in hand: the cities were reduced in a manner to

deserts, and the country depopulated by long famines.

One would imagine that a kingdom thus left without a head, without government, and without order, must have fallen a prey to foreigners, but a like anarchy, which prevailed in those times in almost every other kingdom, proved its security; and when under the Othos, Germany appeared the most to be dreaded, that kingdom was too much taken up with its own intestine broils, to think of foreign conquests.

From these barbarous times, we derive the custom of paying homage for a house or a hamlet, to the lord of another village. A lawyer, or a merchant, who is possessed of an ancient fief, receives homage and fealty from another common man, or from a peer of the kingdom, who has purchased a mesne tenure in his manor. The laws of fiefs no longer exist, but the old custom of fief dependency, homages, and duties, still continues. It is a maxim in most courts of justice, that "there is no land without its lord;" as if it was not sufficient that it belonged to the state.

When France, Italy, and Germany, were thus divided under an innumerable set of petty tyrants; the armies, whose chief strength, under Charlemagne, as well as under the ancient Romans, lay in the infantry, consisted now only of cavalry. There were no other troops but the gendarmes: and the infantry were not allowed this name; because,

in comparison with the horsemen, they were not armed.

The possessors of the smallest lordships never entered the field without as many horsemen as they could possibly bring: and their pride then consisted in keeping a number of squires, whom they called *Vaslets,* from the term *Vassalet,* which signifies a petty vassal. The point of honor therefore was to fight on horseback. They introduced the custom of wearing a complete set of steel armor, which would have weighed a footman down to the ground. And the helmet and cuirass were parts of the dress. It is pretended that Charlemagne wore them: but they were not in common use till about the year one thousand.

Whoever was rich, came almost invulnerable to the field. This made the use of clubs more frequent than ever, with which they knocked down those horsemen whose armor was proof against their spears. The chief trade then was in cuirasses, bucklers, and helmets, ornamented with plumes of feathers. The peasants whom they dragged to the field, and who were alone left neglected and exposed to danger, served rather as pioneers than combatants. The horses, much more regarded than they, were barbed, and their heads covered with iron.

There were no other laws known then, but what were made by the most powerful for the service of the fiefs. Every other object of distributive justice

was left to the caprice of stewards, provosts, and bailiffs, nominated by the possessors of lands.

The senates of those towns which, under the Romans, enjoyed a municipal authority, were almost everywhere abolished. The title "senior," "seigneur," or "lord," for a long time peculiar to the principal senators of these towns, was now given only to the possessors of fiefs. The title of "peer" began then to be first introduced into the Gallo-German tongue, which was then spoken in France. It was taken from the Latin word *par,* which signifies "equal," or "fellow"; in which sense only, it was used under the first and second race of the kings of France. The sons of Louis the Débonnaire styled each other *pares,* in one of their interviews, in the year 851. And, a long time before, Dagobert had given the title "peer" to the monks. Godegrand, bishop of Metz, in the time of Charlemagne, calls the bishops and abbots "peers," as remarks the learned Du Cange. The vassals of the same lords, then, were wont to call each other "peers."

Alfred the Great had established juries in England. These were peers in each possession. Any person criminally arraigned had a right of choosing twelve men of his own profession to be his judges. Some of the vassals in France adopted this custom; but without limiting the number of peers to twelve. There were, in each fief, as many as there were barons, who all held of the same lord, and

who were peers among themselves, but not peers of their feudal lord.

The princes, therefore, who paid an immediate homage to the crown, such as the dukes of Guienne, Normandy, and Burgundy, and the counts of Flanders and Toulouse, were in reality peers of France.

Of these, Hugh Capet was not the least powerful. He had, for a long time, been in possession of the dukedom of France, which extended as far as Touraine. He was also count, or earl, of Paris; and the vast demesnes he held in Picardy and Champagne gave him likewise a great authority in those provinces. His brother had the territories which, at present, compose the dukedom of Burgundy. His grandfather Robert, and his uncle Eudes or Odo, had both of them worn the crown in the time of Charles the Simple. Hugh his father, surnamed the Abbot, on account of the abbeys of St. Denis, St. Martin de Tours, and St.-Germain-des-Prés, and a number of others which he possessed, had both shaken and governed France. It may, therefore, be said, that, from the year 810, in which King Eudes began his reign, his family had held the reins of government almost without interruption: and that excepting Hugh the Abbot, who would not take the royal diadem, it forms a series of sovereigns for above 850 years; a filial descent scarcely known to any other kings.

It is well known how Hugh Capet, duke of France, and count of Paris, in 987, took the crown

from Duke Charles, uncle to the last king, Louis V. Had the suffrages been free, the blood of Charlemagne properly regarded, and the right of succession as sacred as it is at present, Charles would have been king of France. He was not deprived of the rights of his ancestors by a national parliament; but by that which makes and unmakes kings: force assisted by prudence.

While Louis, this last king of the Charlemagne blood, was, in 987, on the point of ending his obscene life, by a lingering disease, at the age of twenty-three, Hugh Capet assembled his forces; and so far from having recourse to the authority of a parliament, he, by his troops, dispersed that which kept itself assembled at Compiègne, in order to secure the succession to Charles.

This fact is sufficiently authenticated by the letter written by Gerbert, afterwards archbishop of Rheims, and pope, under the name of Silvester II., published by Duchesne.

Charles, duke of Brabant and Hainault, states that composed the Lower Lorraine, sank under a rival more powerful and more fortunate than himself: and being betrayed by the bishop of Laon, and unexpectedly delivered up to Hugh Capet, he died a captive in the tower of Orleans, leaving two sons behind him, who were incapable of avenging their father's wrongs; though one of them succeeded him in Lower Lorraine. These were the last princes of the male line of Charlemagne. Hugh Capet,

thus raised to the throne by his peers, did not however gain an increase of territory.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE STATE OF FRANCE IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

FRANCE dismembered, lay languishing in her obscure maladies, from the reign of Charles the Gross, to that of Philip I., great grandson of Hugh Capet; that is, for nearly two hundred and fifty years. We shall see if the Crusades, which rendered the reign of Philip I. so famous about the end of the eleventh century, made that kingdom more happy or flourishing. But, during the space of time of which I am speaking, nothing prevailed but confusion, tyranny, barbarism, and poverty. Every lord of the least consideration coined money, but then any one could at will debase it. The fine manufactures were all confined to Greece and Italy; for the French could not imitate them in towns without privileges, and in a nation entirely disunited.

Of all the events of those times, the most worthy of attention is the excommunication of King Robert. This prince, in 999, had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage in itself lawful, and, what is more, necessary to the well-being of the state. We have, in our time, seen private persons marrying their nieces, on paying the common price for dispensations from Rome; as if that see could

have any right over marriages made at Paris. But this king of France did not meet with the same indulgence. The Church of Rome, though loaded with infamy and scandal, had the boldness to impose a seven years' penance on the king; ordered him to quit his wife; and excommunicated him in case of refusal. All the bishops, who had assisted at the solemnization of this marriage, were laid under an interdict by the pope, who ordered them to repair personally to Rome, to ask his pardon.

This appears an incredible stretch of audacity; but the ignorance and superstition of those times might have suffered it; and a stroke of policy might have occasioned it. Gregory V., who fulminated this excommunication, was, by birth, a German, and was governed by Gerbert, formerly archbishop of Rheims, and a declared enemy to the house of France. The emperor Otho III., who was no friend to Robert, assisted in person at the council where the excommunication was pronounced. Therefore we may suppose, that reasons of state had as great a share in this villainous proceeding, as bigotry and fanaticism.

Historians tell us, that this excommunication had such an effect in France, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domestics; two servants only staying with him: and these threw into the fire all the victuals he left at his meals; so fearful were they of even what had been touched by an excommunicated person. How-

ever low human reason might have been sunk in those times, one would hardly imagine that folly and absurdity could have been carried to such lengths. The first author who takes notice of this stupidity of the court of France, is Cardinal Peter Damien, who wrote only sixty-five years after this happened: and he relates that, as a punishment for this pretended incest, the queen was brought to bed of a monster. However, there was nothing monstrous in all this affair, but the insolence of the pope, and the weakness of the king in putting away his wife.

Excommunications and interdicts are thunderbolts that never set a state on fire but when they meet with combustible materials. There were none then; but perhaps Robert was afraid that some might be formed.

This mean compliance in King Robert so emboldened the popes, that they afterwards excommunicated his grandson Philip I. as they had done him. The famous Gregory VII. first threatened to depose him, if he did not clear himself, before his nuncios, of a charge of simony brought against him; and another pope did actually excommunicate him. Philip had taken a dislike to his wife, and entertained a passion for Bertrade, wife of the count of Anjou; he, therefore, made use of the laws to annul his marriage under pretence of kindred; and his mistress got hers dissolved on the same plea.

The king and his mistress were, after this solem-

nity, espoused by the bishop of Bayeux. They were certainly culpable; but they at least paid such respect to the laws, as to make use of them to cover their faults. However it be, one pope had excommunicated Robert for marrying his relation; and another excommunicated Philip for having put a relation away. But, what is still more extraordinary, Urban II., who pronounced this sentence, pronounced it in the very dominions of this king, namely: at Clermont in Auvergne, whither he had retired for shelter, and in the very council where we shall find him preaching the crusade.

However, it does not appear that Philip, though excommunicated, was held in horror by his subjects, which is another reason for calling in question the general desertion which they said befell King Robert on the like occasion.

It is remarkable, that King Henry, Philip's father, was married to a Muscovite princess. The Muscovites or Russians began at that time to embrace Christianity; but they had no commerce with the rest of Europe. They inhabited the countries beyond Poland, which had yet scarcely any knowledge of Christianity, and held no commerce with France. However, King Henry sent into Russia to demand the daughter of that prince, to whom the other emperors gave the title of duke, as well as to the chief of Poland. The Russians called him, in their language, *tsar;* from whence has been since formed the word *czar.* It is pretended that Henry

determined upon this marriage through the fear of having a church dispute upon his hands. Of all the superstitions of those times, there was not one more destructive to the welfare of states than that of not being allowed to marry a relation in the seventh degree. Henry was related to almost all the sovereigns of Europe. But, in short, Anne, daughter to Jaraslau, czar of Muscovy, was made queen of France; and it is to be observed that after the death of her husband, in 1060, she did not enjoy the regency, nor ever made pretence to it. Laws change with the times. The count of Flanders, one of the vassals of the kingdom, was regent; and the queen dowager was afterwards married to a count of Crepi. All this would appear extraordinary nowadays, but it did not seem so then.

Neither Henry nor Philip I. did anything remarkable; but, during their reign, their vassals and under-vassals conquered kingdoms.

We shall now see in what manner a few adventurers of the province of Normandy, without money, without lands, and almost without soldiers, founded the monarchy of the two Sicilies, that afterwards became such a bone of contention among the emperors of the house of Suabia and the popes, the houses of Anjou and Aragon, and those of Austria and France.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CONQUEST OF NAPLES AND SICILY BY A FEW NORMAN GENTLEMEN.

When Charlemagne took the name of emperor, that title gave him nothing more than what he could secure by force of arms. He pretended to the lordship paramount of the duchy of Benevento, which then composed a considerable part of the states known at present by the name of the kingdom of Naples. The dukes of Benevento, more fortunate than the king of Lombardy, made head against him and his successors. Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily were a prey to the incursions of the Arabs. The Greek and Latin emperors in vain disputed between them the sovereignty of those countries. Several private lords shared the spoils of them with the Saracens. The inhabitants knew not who were their masters; nor whether they were to be of the Greek or Roman communion, or Mahometans. The emperor Otho I. exercised authority in those countries, as being the strongest, and erected Padua into a principality. Otho II., not so fortunate as his predecessor, was defeated by the Greeks and Arabs, who united against him. The emperors of the East at that time remained in possession of Apula and Calabria, which they governed by a catapan. Certain lords had usurped Salerno. The possessors of Benevento and Capua invaded, as often as they could,

the territories of the catapan; who, in his turn, took every opportunity of stripping them. Naples and Gaeta were petty republics like those of Sienna and Lucca, and the Mahometans, who were in possession of several important castles, and made depredations equally on the Greeks and Latins. The churches of the provinces under the catapan were subject to the metropolitan of Constantinople, and the others to him of Rome. The manners took a tincture from this diversity of people, governments, and religions, and the natural genius of the inhabitants no longer darted a single ray. It no longer appeared like the place which had given birth to a Horace and a Cicero, and was afterwards to produce a Tasso. Such was the situation of this fertile country in the tenth and eleventh centuries, from Gaeta and the Garigliano, as far as Otranto.

The taste for pilgrimages and adventure of knight-errantry prevailed in those days. Times of anarchy produce the greatest excess of heroism, its flight being more restrained in well regulated governments. Fifty or sixty Frenchmen, having set out from Normandy in 983 on a journey to Jerusalem, returned by the sea of Naples; and in their way arrived at Salerno, at the time that this city, which had been besieged by the Mahometans, had just purchased its deliverance with money. They found the inhabitants busied in raising the sum for their ransom; and the conquerors in their camp, given up in full security to brutal merriment and debauchery.

This handful of foreigners reproached the besieged with the cowardice of their submission; and immediately marching with the greatest boldness in the middle of the night, attended by a few of the inhabitants, who had courage enough to follow them, they fell upon the Saracen camp, struck the enemy with a panic, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire on board their ships: and this not only saved the riches of Salerno, but added to them the spoils of the enemy.

The prince of Salerno, struck with their valor, would have loaded them with presents, but found his astonishment increased by their refusal; they were, however, entertained a considerable time at Salerno, in a manner befitting heroes who had been the deliverers of the country; and at their departure they were obliged to promise that they would return again. The honor gained by so extraordinary an exploit quickly engaged other Normans to make a visit to Salerno and Benevento: thus these people, by little and little, resumed their forefathers' habit of crossing the seas, to seek for warlike employments, and enlisted sometimes in the service of the Greek emperors, sometimes in that of the princes of the country, and sometimes in that of the pope: it mattered not with them for whom they signalized themselves, provided they reaped the fruits of their toils. There arose a duke of Naples, who had enslaved the rising republic. This duke thought himself happy to make an alliance with this small

number of Normans, who assisted him against the duke of Benevento. They afterwards, in the year 1030, founded the city of Aversa, between these two dukedoms; and this was the first sovereignty they acquired by their valor.

A short time after arrived three sons of Tancred of Hauteville, in the territory of Coutance, William, surnamed Fier-à-bras, Drogo, and Humphrey. Nothing more strongly resembles the fabulous times. These three brothers, together with the Normans of Aversa, accompany the catapan into Sicily. William Fier-à-bras kills a general of the Arabs, turns the victory in favor of the Greeks, and Sicily would again have been theirs, had they not proved ungrateful. But the captain, beginning to fear these Frenchmen, who had been his defenders, was guilty of several acts of injustice towards them, which drew upon him their vengeance; they now turned their arms against him, for whom they had so lately fought; and three or four hundred Normans make themselves masters of all Apulia in 1041. This fact seems almost incredible; but the adventurers of the country joined them, and soon became good soldiers under such masters; and those Calabrians who sought their fortunes by their courage, quickly became so many Normans. William Fier-à-bras made himself count of Apulia, without consulting either the emperor, the pope, nor the neighboring lords, only his soldiers, as have done all the first

kings of all countries. Each Norman captain had a town or a village given him for his share.

Fier-à-bras dying, his brother, Drogo, is chosen sovereign of Apulia in his stead, in 1046; upon which Robert Guiscard, and his two younger brothers, leave Coutances, to have their share in so much good fortune. Old Tancred is astonished to see himself the father of a race of conquerors; and the Norman name strikes terror into the neighboring states of Apulia, and even into the popes themselves. Robert Guiscard, and his brothers, followed by a train of their countrymen, go in small troops on a pilgrimage to Rome, and marching through the countries with their staves in their hands, at length arrive undiscovered in Apulia.

The emperor Henry III., though strong enough at that time to hold the Romans in subjection, was too weak to make head against these conquerors; and therefore, by a solemn agreement, he invested them with those territories which they had acquired by invasion. They were at that time — 1047 — in possession of all Apulia, the earldom of Aversa, and one-half of the dukedom of Benevento.

Soon after, we see this family raised to be a royal house, and founder of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and a fief of the empire. How can it have happened that this portion of the empire should have been so soon rent from it, and become a fief to the see of Rome, at a time when the popes possessed hardly a foot of territory, were not even the masters

in Rome, nor so much as acknowledged in the march of Ancona, which had been given them by Otho the Great? This event is almost as astonishing as the conquests of the Norman gentlemen. But here follows the explanation of this enigma. Pope Leo IX. wanted to get possession of the town of Benevento, which belonged to the princes of the race of the kings of Lombardy, who had been dispossessed by Charlemagne.

In 1053 the emperor Henry III. did in effect give him this town, in exchange for the fief of Bamberg in Germany; and the sovereign pontiff is to this day in possession of Benevento, in virtue of this donation. The new Norman princes were dangerous enemies. There can be no conquests without acts of great injustice; these they committed, and the emperor wanted to have less formidable vassals. Leo IX., after having excommunicated them, took it in his head to march against them, at the head of an army, with which Henry III. had furnished him, and gave them battle. History does not mention how the spoils were to be divided, it only takes notice of there being a numerous army, and that the pope further increased it by Italian troops, who enlisted themselves as for a holy war, and that among the captives, there were a number of bishops. In 1054 the Normans, who had always conquered in small numbers, were not a fourth part so strong as the pope; but then they were accustomed to fighting. Robert Guiscard, with his brothers, Hum-

phrey and Richard, count of Aversa, each at the head of a small, but well-disciplined troop, cut the whole German army to pieces, and put the Italians to flight. The pope himself escaped to Civitade, a town near the field of battle; thither the Normans followed him, seized him, and carried him with them prisoner, into that very town of Benevento, which had first given occasion to this enterprise.

Pope Leo IX. had been made a saint, probably he might have done penance, for having spilt so much blood to no purpose, and for having carried so many of the clergy into the field. It is certain that he did repent, especially when he saw himself treated with so much respect by his conquerors, who yet resolutely kept him prisoner for a whole year. They restored Benevento to the princes of Lombardy; and it was not till after the extinction of that family that the popes at length got possession of this town.

It may be easily conceived, that the Norman princes were more piqued against the emperor, who had furnished such a powerful army for their destruction, than against the pope, who commanded it. They were now resolved to free themselves forever from any pretensions or rights which either of the two emperors, between which they were situated, might claim over them. Accordingly they continued to push their conquests, and made themselves masters of Calabria and Capua, during the minority of Henry IV. and while the Greek Em-

pire was in a state still more feeble than that of a minority.

The conquest of Calabria was made by the sons of Tancred of Hauteville, and that of Capua, by the descendants of its first deliverers. These two victorious governments had none of those quarrels which so frequently divide the victors and lessen their power. The use of history obliges me to stop a little here to take notice that Richard of Aversa, who conquered Capua, caused himself to be crowned with the same ceremonies of consecration, and the holy oil, that had been made use of for Clovis. The dukes of Benevento were always consecrated in the same manner; and the successors of Richard did the like. Which shows beyond contradiction that every one establishes customs as he pleases.

Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and Richard, count of Aversa and Capua, both so by right of conquest, and both determined to be independent of the two emperors, made use of the same precaution, in regard to their sovereignties, which several private persons did in those times of confusion and rapine, for their patrimonial possessions; they gave them to the Church, under the name of an offering, *oblata,* and continued in possession of them, on paying a slight acknowledgment. This was the only recourse left the weaker party in the unsettled governments of Italy; and the Normans, though sufficiently powerful, made use of it as a safeguard against the emperors, who might in time become

more powerful. Robert Guiscard, and his brother, Richard of Capua, when excommunicated by Pope Leo IX., kept him prisoner. The same conquerors excommunicated by Nicholas II., paid him homage, and put under the protection of the Church, not only all that they had actually taken, but whatever they might take in time to come. In 1059 Duke Robert did homage for Sicily, which he had not yet conquered, declared himself a feudatory to the see of Rome for all his dominions, promising to pay an acknowledgment of twelve deniers for each plough, which amounted to a considerable sum. This homage was an act of political piety, something like that of the Peter's pence paid by England to the see of Rome, or the two pounds' weight of gold given by the first kings of Portugal, or in short like the voluntary submission paid by many kingdoms to the authority of the Church.

But, according to all the laws of feudal right established in Europe, these princes, as vassals of the empire, could not choose a new lord paramount without making themselves guilty of rebellion towards the emperor, and putting it in his power to confiscate their states. The disputes which happened between the Church and the empire, and what is more, the power of the Norman princes themselves, put it out of the power of the emperors to exercise their just rights. These conquerors, in making themselves vassals to the pope, became the protectors, and not unfrequently the masters of their new

lords. Duke Robert having received a standard from the pope, and become the champion of that church whose enemy he had been, passed over to Sicily with his brother Roger, and conquered that island from the Greeks and Mahometans, who, in 1067, divided it between them; these people submitted upon condition of enjoying their religion and customs.

But there still remained to be reduced all that part which at present composes the kingdom of Naples. And there were still reigning princes of Salerno, the descendants of those who had first called the Normans into that country. These the Normans at length drove out, and Duke Robert made himself master of the city of Salerno: thus dispossessed of their dominions, these princes took refuge in the Campagna di Roma, and put themselves under the protection of Pope Gregory VII., the same who made the emperors tremble by his great power. But Robert, this vassal and defender of the Church, followed them there; upon which Gregory VII. did not fail to thunder out his excommunications against him, which ended in the conquest of the whole territory of Benevento, of which Robert made himself master, after the death of the last duke of the Lombard race.

In 1077, Gregory VII., whom we shall see so haughty and so dreadful to the emperors and kings, showed nothing but the greatest complaisance towards the excommunicated Robert, to whom he

gave absolution, and from whom he received the town of Benevento, which has ever since continued in the see of Rome.

In 1084 that great dispute between the emperor Henry IV. and Gregory VII., of which we shall now give an account, broke out. Henry had made himself master of Rome, and held the pope besieged in the castle of St. Angelo. Robert, who was then in Dalmatia, making new conquests, flew to the assistance of the holy father, whom he rescued from the united powers of the Germans and Romans, made himself master of his person, and carried him to Salerno, where this pope, who had deposed so many kings, died the prisoner, and under the protection, of Norman gentlemen.

We must not be surprised at seeing so many kingdoms sending forth knights-errant, who became powerful sovereigns by their exploits, and entered into the imperial families. This is precisely what happened to Robert Guiscard, and what we shall see more than once happen during the Crusades. Robert married his daughter to Constantine, son of Michael Ducas, emperor of Constantinople. But this marriage did not prove happy; he had soon both his daughter and son-in-law to avenge, and determined to go and dethrone the emperor of the East, after having humbled him of the West.

The court of Constantinople was but one continued tempest. Michael Ducas was driven from the throne by Nicephorus, surnamed Botaniates.

Robert's son-in-law was made a eunuch, and at length Alexius Comnenus, who afterwards suffered so much by the Crusades, mounted the throne. Robert, during these troubles, was already advancing through Dalmatia and Macedonia, and carried terror and dismay to the very gates of Constantinople. Bohemond, his son by a first marriage, who was afterwards so famous in the Crusades, accompanied him to the conquest of that empire. We may see by this, how much Alexius Comnenus had reason to fear the Crusades, since Bohemond began by attempting to dethrone him.

The death of Robert, in 1085, which happened in the island of Corfu, put a period to his enterprises. The princess Anna Comnena, daughter to the emperor Alexius, and who wrote part of the history of those times, looks upon Robert as no better than a public robber, and is greatly incensed at his insolence, in presuming to marry his daughter to the son of an emperor; but she should have considered, that the history of the empire itself furnishes examples of much more considerable vicissitudes of fortune; and that everything in this world yields to strength and power.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SICILY AND THE RIGHT OF LEGATION IN THAT ISLAND.

THE design of making the conquest of the Greek Empire vanished at the death of Robert. But his family secured their establishments in Italy. Count Roger, his brother, remained master of Sicily; Duke Roger, his son, continued in possession of almost all the country now called by the name of the kingdom of Naples; and Bohemond, his other son, went and reduced Antioch, after a fruitless attempt to share in the dominions of his brother, Duke Roger.

But why did neither Count Roger, the sovereign of Sicily, nor his nephew Roger, duke of Apulia, take the title of kings? There must be a time for all things. Robert Guiscard, the first conqueror, had been invested as duke, by Pope Nicholas II. His brother Roger had likewise been honored by Robert Guiscard, as count of Sicily. All these ceremonies did, however, only confer titles, without adding anything to their power. But the count of Sicily enjoyed a right which has been always kept up, and which no other sovereign in Europe has ever had; he became a kind of second pope, in his own island.

The popes had assumed a right of sending legates to all the states of Christendom, whom they called legates *a latere;* these exercised jurisdiction over all the churches, exacting tithes, bestowing benefices, and exercising and extending the pontifical power,

as far as the circumstances and interests of the potentates would admit. And temporal affairs being almost always connected with spiritual ones, they brought civil causes also before their tribunal; so that everything in which the Church was the least concerned, made a part of their department, as marriages, wills, promises by oath, and the like. They were indeed a kind of proconsuls, despatched by the ecclesiastical emperor over all the West. By this means, Rome, always feeble, always plunged in anarchy, frequently enslaved by the Germans, and a prey to every sort of calamity, still continued to be the mistress of nations. Hence it is, that the history of each nation is always the history of Rome.

No sooner had Count Roger conquered Sicily from the Mahometans and Greeks, and settled the Latin Church in that island, than Pope Urban II. sent a legate thither. This country, indeed, seemed of all others, to stand the most in need of a legate to regulate the hierarchy, or church government, among a people, of which one-half were Mahometans and the other one-half of the Greek communion. And yet this was the only country where the right of legation was forever abolished. Count Roger, though a great benefactor to the Latin Church, to whom he restored Sicily, would not suffer a king to be sent under the title of legate, into a country which he had conquered.

Pope Urban, wholly intent upon the Crusades, and desirous to keep well with a family of heroes, so

necessary to this grand enterprise, granted a bull to Count Roger, in 1098, the year before his death, by which he recalled his legate, and made Roger and his successors natural legates of the see of Rome in the island of Sicily; investing them with all the rights, privileges, and authorities, belonging to that dignity, which was both spiritual and temporal. This is the famous privilege which is called the monarchy of Sicily; that is to say, the privilege annexed to that monarchy; a privilege which the popes have ever since been for annulling, but which the kings of Sicily have always maintained. If this prerogative is incompatible with the Christian hierarchy, it is evident that Pope Urban had not the power of bestowing it; but if it is only a matter of church discipline not repugnant to religion, it is as evident that every kingdom has a right to claim the same privilege to itself. This privilege is at the bottom only the right which Constantine, and all the emperors had, of presiding over every part of the police of their own dominions; and yet in all the Catholic countries of Europe, there was found but one Norman gentleman who had power and address enough to procure himself this prerogative, and at the very gates of Rome.

In 1130 the son of this count Roger succeeded to the whole patrimony of the Norman family, and was crowned and consecrated king of Sicily and Apulia. Naples, which was at that time only a small city, and did not then belong to him, could not give a name

to the kingdom. This city had always preserved itself in the form of a republic, under a duke, who held in fee of the emperors of Constantinople, and who had found means, by well-timed presents, to preserve his small state from the ambition of this conquering family.

This first king of Sicily, Roger did homage for his kingdom to the see of Rome. There were at that time two popes; one called Anacletus, the son of a Jew named Leo, and the same whom St. Bernard calls *"Judaicam sobolem"* (of Jewish race): the other called Innocent II. Roger acknowledged Anacletus, because the emperor Lotharius II. had acknowledged Innocent; and it was this Anacletus to whom he paid his empty homage.

The emperor looked upon the Norman conquerors as no other than usurpers; accordingly St. Bernard, who was concerned in all the disputes between the popes and the kings, wrote both against Roger, and this son of a Jew, who had got himself elected pope by dint of money. "One," says he, "has usurped the chair of St. Peter, and the other the government of Sicily: it belongs to Cæsar to punish them."

Roger supported Anacletus, who was acknowledged in Rome. Lotharius laid hold on this opportunity to strip the Normans of a part of their conquests. He puts himself at the head of an army, and taking Pope Innocent with him, directs his march towards Apulia. It is plain that the Normans had

good reasons for shaking off their dependence on the emperors, and placing a barrier betwixt them; for scarcely was Roger made king when he found himself on the point of losing everything. He was besieging Naples when the emperor marched against him. He lost several battles, and almost all his provinces on the continent. Innocent II. pursued him in person, and with his excommunications. St. Bernard, who, in 1137, accompanied the emperor and the pope, in vain labored to bring about an accommodation. Roger everywhere beaten, retires into Sicily; the emperor dies, and everything is changed; Roger and his son recover their provinces. Pope Innocent II. at length acknowledged in Rome, enters into a league with the princes to whom Lotharius had given the provinces he had taken from Roger, and with an implacable enmity in his heart to that monarch; like Leo IX., he puts himself at the head of an army, and like him is defeated and taken prisoner. What was he to do in this situation! He did like the rest of his predecessors; he granted absolutions and investitures, and applied for protection against the empire, to that very race of Normans against whom he had before called in the assistance of the empire.

In a short time after King Roger subdued Naples and the rest of the territories from Gaeta to Brindisi, which were wanting to make his kingdom complete, and formed the monarchy such as it now exists. Naples became the capital of his kingdom,

and the arts began to revive a little in these beautiful provinces.

Having now seen in what manners a few gentlemen of Coutances, in Normandy, founded the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, we must next see how a duke of Normandy and peer of France conquered England. Astonishing are the number of invasions and emigrations which lasted from the fourth century to the beginning of the fourteenth, and which ended with the Crusades! All the nations of Europe were intermixed, and there was hardly one which had not had its usurpers.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY.

While the children of Tancred of Hauteville founded kingdoms at such a distance from their native land, the dukes acquired one, which became more considerable than that of the two Sicilies. Britain, in spite of the native bravery of her people, has been always destined to be governed by foreigners. After the death of Alfred, which happened in 900, England sank again into barbarism and anarchy. The ancient Anglo-Saxons, its first conquerors, and the Danes, its new usurpers, were always disputing the possession, and fresh Danish pirates frequently came in also, to partake of the

spoils of that unhappy island. These pirates continued so formidable, and the English so weak, that in the year 1000, the latter were obliged to purchase their quiet of them for forty-eight thousand pounds sterling; and to raise this sum a tax was imposed, which lasted for a long time in England, as indeed most other taxes do, which generally continue to be levied long after the occasion which gave rise to them is ceased. This humbling tribute was called *Danegelt,* or Danish money.

Canute, king of Denmark, surnamed the Great, only by performing great acts of cruelty, reduced both Denmark and England under his subjection in 1017. The native English were then treated like slaves; insomuch that the historians of those times acknowledge that when an Englishman met a Dane he was obliged to stop till the latter had passed by.

The race of Canute failing in 1041, the states of the kingdom resuming their liberty, conferred the crown on Edward, a descendant from the ancient Anglo-Saxon kings, who was called the saint and the confessor. One of the great faults, or great misfortunes of this king, was his having no children by his wife Edith, daughter to one of the most powerful noblemen of his kingdom. He hated his wife, as well as his own mother, and for reasons of state had them both removed from court. However, the barrenness of his marriage bed proved the occasion of his canonization; for it was pretended that he had made a vow of chastity; a rash vow

surely for a married man, and highly absurd in a king, who stood in need of an heir to his dominions. But by this vow, real or pretended, he forged new chains for his wretched country.

The custom and manners of those times appear to have been absolutely different from ours. William, duke of Normandy, who conquered England, was so far from having any right to that kingdom that he had not even any to Normandy, if birthright had taken place; for his father, Robert, who was never married, had him by the daughter of a skinner of Falaise, whom history calls "Harlot," a word which then signified, and still continues to signify in English, a common woman, a prostitute. This bastard, who was acknowledged in his father's lifetime his lawful heir, maintained himself by his dexterity and valor, in the possession of his duchy, against all who attempted to dispute it with him, and reigned peaceably in Normandy, and Brittany did him homage. On the death of Edward the Confessor, he had made pretensions to the kingdom of England. There was no established right of succession at that time in any one state in Europe. The crown of Germany was elective, that of Spain divided between the Christians and Moors; Lombardy was every day changing masters; the race of Charlemagne, driven from the throne of France, was an example of what force can do against the right of blood. Edward the Confessor did not wear the crown by right of inheritance. Harold, who succeeded him, was not of his

family, but came to the throne by the most incontestable of all rights, the suffrages of the people. The bastard William could plead neither the right of election, nor that of inheritance, nor even any party in his favor in England. He pretended that in a former voyage he had made to this island, King Edward had made a will in his favor, which, however, no one had ever seen. He pretended, moreover, that he had formerly delivered Harold from prison, who had in return yielded up to him his right to the crown of England. These weak reasons he supported by a powerful army.

The Norman barons, assembled in form of a diet, refused to furnish their duke with money towards carrying on this expedition, alleging that if he should not succeed Normandy would be impoverished, and that if he did it would become only a province to England: nevertheless, there were several Norman lords who risked their fortunes with their duke. One single nobleman, named Fitzothbern or Fitzosborn, equipped forty vessels at his own expense. The count of Flanders, father-in-law to the duke, assisted him with a sum of money, and the pope himself engaged in his interest, and excommunicated all those who opposed his designs. At length he set out from St. Valery with a numerous fleet, but the exact number of ships and soldiers is not known. He landed on the coast of Sussex Oct. 14, 1066, and soon after was fought in that country the famous battle of Hastings, which alone decided the fate of

England. The English, with King Harold at their head, and the Normans, commanded by their duke, engaged for twelve hours together. The cavalry, who fought in armor, and began to be looked upon everywhere else as the chief strength of an army, does not appear to have been made use of in this battle. The chiefs fought on foot; King Harold and his two brothers were slain, and the conqueror marched to London, having a consecrated banner, which he had received from the pope, carried before him. This banner was as a standard, to which all the bishops flocked, and declared unanimously in his favor. They came to the gates, attended by the magistrates of the city, and made him the tender of a crown, which they were not in a condition to refuse to a conqueror.

William knew equally as well how to govern as to conquer, and signalized his reign by extinguishing rebellions, frustrating invasions, and enacting, and severely executing rigorous laws. The ancient Britons, the Danes, and Anglo-Saxons, lay now, all confounded, in the same state of slavery. His brave Normans, who had assisted him in his conquest, were rewarded by him with the lands of the conquered. Hence came that multitude of Norman families whose descendants, or at least their names, still exist in England. He caused an exact list to be taken of all the goods of his subjects, of whatever nature; and by this artful management, writers tell us, he raised a revenue of four hundred thousand

pounds of the then English sterling money, which would make five millions sterling of the present money of that country, and about a hundred millions of our French livres. But it is plain that historians are greatly mistaken in this account; for the revenue of England, which now includes Scotland and Ireland, does not all amount to so much, if we deduct what is levied for the payment of the national debt: this, however, is certain, that William abolished all the ancient laws of the country to make way for those of Normandy. He, moreover, ordered that all pleadings should be in the Norman language; and all the public acts continued to be issued in that language, till the time of Edward the Third. William was resolved that the language of the conquerors should be that of the country, and schools for teaching the Norman tongue were established in all the towns and villages. This language was a mixture of the French and Danish; which formed a barbarous dialect, that had not the least advantage over that spoken in England. He is said not only to have treated the conquered nation with severity, but even affected a whimsical and capricious kind of tyranny; as an instance of which they allege his law called the curfew or *covre-feu,* by which he obliged the people at the sound of a bell to put out the fires in their houses at eight o'clock in the evening. But this law was so far from being an act of tyranny that it is an ancient policy established in almost all the cities in the North, and was for a long time observed in

cloisters. The houses were all built of wood, and the fear of fire made it the principal concern of the magistracy to prevent, by all possible means, accidents of that kind.

He is also reproached with having destroyed all the villages within the compass of thirty miles, to make a forest, in which he might take the diversion of hunting: but such an action is too absurd to be probable. Writers who relate this do not consider that it would require at least twenty years to make a new plantation a proper place for hunting. They tell us he planted this forest in 1080, when he was fifty-three years old. Now, is it probable that a man of any understanding should, at such an age, have destroyed so many villages, to sow a tract of land of thirty miles in length with trees in hopes of one day hunting in it?

The conqueror of England became the terror of Philip I., king of France, who endeavored too late to humble this powerful vassal; and fell upon Maine, at that time dependent on the duchy of Normandy. William, upon the news of this, crossed the sea, recovered Maine, and compelled Philip to sue for peace.

The pretensions of the Church of Rome never showed themselves in a more singular manner than with regard to this prince. Pope Gregory VII. took advantage of the time in which he was engaged in a war with France to require homage of him for the kingdom of England, founding his pretensions on the

ancient Peter's pence, which had been paid by that kingdom to the Church of Rome, amounting to about three livres of our money for each house, which had been always considered in England as a very bountiful donation, and at Rome as a tribute. William the Conqueror gave the pope to understand that he might possibly continue this offering, but that, so far from paying him homage, he would forbid his people of England to acknowledge any other pope than whom he should approve. Thus Gregory VII.'s proposal became ridiculous by being too insolent. This is the same Gregory who disturbed all Europe with his attempts to raise the sacerdotal dignity above the imperial one. But, before we come to speak of this memorable dispute, and of the Crusades, which had birth much about the same time, we must take a short view of the other countries of Europe.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE STATE OF EUROPE IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

Russia had embraced Christianity towards the end of the eighth century. At this time women seemed destined to convert kingdoms. A sister of the emperors Basil and Constantine, who was married to the father of that czar Jaraslau of whom I have already made mention, prevailed upon her husband to receive baptism. The Russians, always the slaves of their sovereign, followed his example; but

adopted only the superstitious part of the Greek ritual.

About that time also a woman induced Poland to embrace Christianity; Micislaus, duke of Poland, being converted by his wife, sister to the duke of Bohemia. I have already observed that the Bulgarians received the faith in the same manner. Gisella, sister to the emperor Henry, also made her husband, the king of Hungary, a Christian in the first year of the eleventh century: so that it is an undoubted truth that one-half of Europe is indebted to women for its knowledge of Christianity.

The Swedes, who had received the Gospel as early as the ninth century, were relapsed into idolatry. Bohemia, and all the countries north of the Elbe, renounced Christianity in 1013; and the inhabitants of all the east coast of the Baltic Sea were pagans. In 1407, the Hungarians returned again to idolatry. But all these nations were still farther from being civilized than they were from being Christians.

Sweden, which probably had for a long time been exhausted of its inhabitants by those ancient emigrations with which Europe had been overrun, appeared in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries to be wholly buried in barbarism; without having war or commerce with its neighbors, and wholly unconcerned in any of the great events of the times, by which it was in all likelihood so much the happier.

Poland, much more barbarous than Christian, preserved till the thirteenth century all the customs of the ancient Sarmatii; killing their children that were born with any imperfection, and the old men who were unfit for labor. From this we may form a judgment of the rest of the North.

The empire of Constantinople was neither more nor less extended than we have seen it in the ninth century. It defended itself in the West against the Bulgarians, and in the East, the North, and the South against the Turks and Arabs.

We have seen in general the state of Italy. A certain number of great lords divided between them the whole country, from Rome to the Calabrian Sea; and the Normans had the greatest part of the East. Florence, Milan, and Pavia were governed by magistrates under the counts or dukes nominated by the emperors. Bologna indeed enjoyed a state of greater freedom.

The house of Maurienne, from whence the dukes of Savoy, kings of Sardinia, are descended, began now to raise itself. It possessed, as a fief of the empire, the hereditary county of Savoy and Maurienne, ever since Humbert the White-Handed, the stock of this family, had, in the year 888, obtained that small detached portion of the kingdom of Burgundy.

The Swiss and Grisons, also detached from the same kingdoms, were under the government of bailiffs nominated by the emperors.

Two maritime cities of Italy now began to rise, not by those sudden invasions which have alone constituted the rights of almost all the princes who have passed in review before us; but by a wise industry, which afterwards degenerated into the spirit of conquest. These two cities were Genoa and Venice. Genoa, which had been famous during the time of the Romans, considered Charlemagne as her restorer; that emperor having rebuilt the city some time after it had been destroyed by the Goths. It was governed by counts under Charlemagne and his first descendants; but, in the tenth century, was sacked by the Mahometans, and almost all its citizens carried into slavery. But, being a trading port, it was quickly repeopled; and commerce, which had first made it flourish, served to re-establish its former grandeur. It then became a republic, and took Corsica from the Arabians, who had made themselves masters of it. The pope exacted a tribute from that island, not only on account of being formerly in possession of some patrimonies there, but as pretending to be lord paramount of all the kingdoms conquered from the infidels. The Genoese paid this tribute at the beginning of the eleventh century, but soon after they freed themselves from it under the pontificate of Lucius II. At length, their ambition increasing with their riches, from merchants they aimed at being conquerors.

The city of Venice, not by far so ancient as Genoa, affected the empty honor of a more ancient

liberty, at the time they enjoyed the solid glory of a much superior power. This was at first the retreat of a few fishermen and fugitives who, in the beginning of the fifth century, had fled from the Goths when they ravaged all Italy. There was then no city, only a few cabins on the borders of the Rialto, the name of Venice being then unknown. This Rialto was so far from being free that for upwards of thirty years it was a sorry village belonging to the city of Padua, which governed it by consuls. The vicissitudes of human affairs afterwards brought Padua under the dominion of Venice.

We have no proof that Venice enjoyed any acknowledged liberty under the kings of Lombardy. It is more probable that the inhabitants lay forgotten in their marshes.

The Rialto and its small neighboring islands did not begin to be governed by magistrates of their own until the year 709. They then became independent of Padua, and considered themselves as a republic.

It was in the year 709 that they had their first doge, who was only a tribune of the people, elected by the citizens. There are many families still existing who gave their voices to the first doge. They are the most ancient nobles in Europe, without excepting any; which proves that nobility may be acquired without possessing a castle, or paying for patents to a sovereign.

Heraclea was the first seat of this republic till the death of its first doge; and it was not till the end

of the ninth century that these islanders, retiring further into their warrens, gave to this assemblage of small islands, which formed a town, the name of Venice, from the name of that coast, which was called *Terræ Venetorum.* The inhabitants of these marshes soon found it would be impossible to subsist without commerce: thus necessity proved the basis of their grandeur. It is not yet certainly decided whether this little republic was at that time entirely independent. We find Berenger for some time acknowledged emperor in Italy, granting, in the year 950, licence to the doge to coin money. And these doges were obliged to send annually to the emperors, by way of service, a mantle of cloth of gold; but Otho III., in the year 998, excused them from paying this petty kind of tribute. But these slight marks of vassalage did not in the least diminish the real power of Venice; for, while its people paid a mantle of cloth of gold to the emperors, they acquired, by their riches and their arms, the whole province of Istria, and almost all the coast of Dalmatia, Spalatro, Ragusa, and Narenza. Their doge, about the middle of the ninth century, took the title of duke of Dalmatia. But the republic was far less enriched by these conquests than by its trade, in which it even surpassed the Genoese: for, while the barons of Germany and France were building prisons and enslaving the subject, Venice got their money by furnishing them with all the commodities of the East. The Mediterranean was already cov-

ered with its ships, and it grew rich and flourishing by the ignorance and barbarism of the northern nations of Europe.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SPAIN AND THE MOORS — THE STATE OF THAT KINGDOM TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Spain was still divided between the Mahometans and the Christians; but the latter did not possess a fourth part, and even that the most barren corner of the whole country. The dominions of the Christians were Asturias, the princes of which took the title of kings of Leon; a part of Old Castile governed by counts; Barcelona, and one half of Catalonia, also subject to counts; Navarre, which had a king, and a part of Aragon which had for some time been united to Navarre. The Moors possessed Portugal, Murcia, Andalusia, Valentia, Granada, Tortosa, and a tract of country stretching into the midst of the kingdom beyond the mountains of Castile and Saragossa. The Moorish kings always kept their residence at Cordova, where they had built that large mosque whose roof is supported by three hundred and sixty-five columns of curious marble, and which the Christians still continue to call *la Mosquita,* i. e., the mosque, though now used as a cathedral.

Here the arts flourished, and the court of the Moorish king was the centre of gallantry, magnificence, and the choicest pleasures. Tournaments and tiltings probably owed their invention to these Moors. They had also shows and theatres, which, rude as they were, served at least to show that they were more civilized than the other nations round about them. Cordova was the only place in the West where geometry, astronomy, chemistry, and physic, were cultivated. Sancho the Fat, king of Leon, was obliged to make a journey to Cordova in 956 to put himself under the care of a famous Arabian physician, who, invited by the king, resolved that the king should come to him.

Cordova is a most delightful country, watered by the Guadalquivir, and where groves of citrons, oranges, and pomegranates perfume the air, and everything invites to the softer pleasures. Luxury and effeminacy at last corrupted the Moorish kings. Their dominions were in the tenth century like those of almost all the Christian princes, divided into petty states. Toledo, Murcia, Valentia, and even Huesca, had their kings. This was the only time for crushing this divided power; but the Christians of Spain were still more disunited. They were perpetually at war among themselves, joined together only to betray each other, and frequently even made alliances with the Moors. Alphonso V., king of Leon, in the year 1000, gave his sister Theresa in marriage to Sultan Abdala, king of Toledo.

Jealousies produce greater crimes among petty princes than among great sovereigns. War alone is capable of deciding the fate of great empires, but surprisals, treachery, assassinations, and poisonings, are the more common weapons of rival neighbors, who, having much ambition and few means of gratifying it, have recourse to every art that can supply the place of strength. Thus, at the end of the tenth century, Sancho Garcia, count of Castile, poisoned his own mother, and his son, Don Garcia, was stabbed by three noblemen of that country as he was going to be married.

In fine, in the year 1035, Ferdinand, son of Sancho, king of Navarre and Aragon, re-united to his dominions Old Castile, which had devolved to his family by the murder of this Don Garcia, together with the kingdom of Leon, which he took from his brother-in-law, whom he slew in battle.

Castile became a kingdom in 1036, and Leon one of its provinces. This same Ferdinand, not satisfied with having robbed his brother-in-law of his crown and his life, took Navarre likewise from his own brother, whom he caused to be assassinated in a battle which he fought against him. This is the Ferdinand on whom the Spaniards have bestowed the name of Great, surely only to render infamous a title too often lavished on usurpers and murderers.

His father, Don Sancho, also surnamed the Great, for having succeeded to the counts of Castile, and having married one of his sons to the princess of

Asturias, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; upon which Ferdinand resolved also to assume that title. It is certain that there neither is, nor ever can be, any title peculiar to sovereigns but such as they please to take themselves, or that custom gives them. The title of emperor everywhere signified the heir to the Cæsars, and master of the Roman Empire, or at least one who pretended to be so: it can hardly therefore be thought that this could be the distinguishing mark of a prince whose power was but ill established, and who governed only a fourth part of Spain.

The emperor Henry III. humbled the pride of this Castilian, by requiring him to do him homage for his small dominions as a fief of the empire. It is difficult to say which of the two pretensions was the most idle, that of the German emperor, or that of the Spaniard. These empty notions, however, had no effect, for Ferdinand's dominions still remained a little free kingdom.

In the reign of this Ferdinand lived Rodriguez, or Roderick, called the Cid, who actually married Chimene, whose father he had murdered. Those who know nothing of this history, but from the tragedy so famous in the last age, suppose that King Ferdinand was in possession of Andalusia.

The Cid began his famous exploits by assisting Don Sancho, Ferdinand's eldest son, to strip his brothers and sisters of the inheritance left them by their father; but Sancho being murdered in one of

these unjust expeditions, his brothers entered again into the possession of their estates in 1073.

There were at that time near twenty kings in Spain, some Christians, some Mahometans; and besides these twenty kings, there was a considerable number of independent lords, who came on horseback completely armed, and followed by several squires, to offer their service to the princes and princesses who were engaged in wars. This custom, which at that time obtained throughout all Europe, was nowhere held in greater credit than in Spain. The princes with whom these knights engaged girded them with a belt, and presented them with a sword, with which they gave them a slight blow on the shoulder. The Christian knights added other ceremonies to their dubbing, in particular that of watching their arms all night before the altar of the Virgin. The Mussulmans were content with girding on a scimitar. This was the origin of knights-errant, and of such numbers of single combats; the most celebrated of which was that fought after the death of King Sancho, who was assassinated while he was besieging his sister Ouraca in the city Zamora. Three knights maintained the honor of the infanta against Don Diego de Lara, by whom she was accused. They fought by turns in a place railed in, and in presence of judges on either side. Don Diego overthrew and killed two of the infanta's knights, and the horse of the third having the reins of his bridle cut, and running away with

his master out of the lists, the combat was adjudged to be undecided.

Of all this number of knights the Cid distinguished himself the most against the Moors. Several knights ranged themselves under his banner, and all together, with their squires and the horsemen, composed an army covered with iron, and mounted on the most beautiful steeds in the country. The Cid overcame several petty Moorish kings, and, having at last fortified himself in the city of Alcázar, he there erected a little sovereignty.

Afterwards he persuaded his master, Alphonso VI., king of Old Castile, to undertake the siege of the city of Toledo, offering him the assistance of all his knights for that expedition. The noise of this siege, and the Cid's reputation, brought many knights and princes from France and Italy, particularly Raymond, count of Toulouse, and two princes of the blood of France, of the branch of Burgundy. The Moorish king, named Hiaja, was the son of Al-Mamun, one of the most generous princes recorded in history. This Al-Mamun had given an asylum in Toledo to this very king Alphonso, when persecuted by his brother Sancho. They had lived together for a long time in strict friendship, and Al-Mamun was so far from detaining him when, after the death of Sancho, he became king, and consequently more to be feared, that he gave him part of his treasures; and it is said that they both shed tears at their separation. Several of the Moorish

princes went out of the city to reproach Alphonso with his ingratitude toward his benefactor, and more than one remarkable combat was fought under the walls of Toledo.

This siege lasted a whole year — 1085 — at the end of which Toledo capitulated, but on condition that the Moors should be treated in the same manner as the Christians had formerly been, and left to the free exercise of their religion and laws. A promise which was at first kept, but which time afterwards caused to be broken. All New Castile at last yielded to the Cid, who took possession of it in the name of Alphonso; and Madrid, a small place, that was one day to be the capital of Spain, came then for the first time into the hands of the Christians.

Several families came from France to settle in Toledo, and had several privileges granted them, which are still called in Spain the franchises. King Alphonso, immediately upon the reduction of Toledo, called an assembly of bishops, which, without the concurrence of the people, formerly thought necessary, promoted a priest named Bernard to the bishopric of Toledo; and Pope Gregory VII., at the king's request, made him prince of Spain. The Church reaped almost the whole advantage of this conquest; but the primate was imprudent enough to abuse this by violating the conditions which his master had granted to the Moors. By the articles of capitulation the great mosque was to remain in possession of the Mahometans, but the archbishop, in the king's

absence, converted it into a church; by which imprudent act he stirred up a rebellion against him. Alphonso returns to Toledo, justly irritated against the prelate for his indiscretion, appeases the tumult, and restores the mosque to the Moors, threatening at the same time to punish the archbishop; but privately prevailed upon the Mahometans to petition for his pardon, which was granted him at their request: and thus the insurrection was quelled, and everything restored to order.

Alphonso, either through policy or inclination, added to the dominions he had acquired by the valor of the Cid, in marrying Zaid, daughter of Benadat, the new Moorish king of Andalusia, with whom he received several towns in dowry.

He is reproached with having, in conjunction with his father-in-law, invited other Moors out of Africa into Spain. It is hardly to be supposed that he could have committed so great an error in politics; but, indeed, kings very often act contrary to all the rules of probability. Be that as it may, an army of Moors came over from Africa, and fell upon Spain, which increased the general confusion of that kingdom. The Miramolin, who governed Morocco, sent his general Abenada to the assistance of the king of Andalusia: but this general not only betrayed the prince to whom he was sent, but also the Miramolin in whose name he came, who, being at length enraged at his general's perfidy, came in person to give him battle, who was making war with the other

Mahometans while the Christians were as much divided among themselves.

While Spain was thus torn in pieces by the Moors and Christians, the Cid Don Rodriguez, at the head of his army of knights, subdued the kingdom of Valencia. There were at that time few kings in Spain so powerful as himself, but whether he preferred the title of Cid, or whether his spirit of knighthood kept him faithful to King Alphonso, his master, he never assumed the regal title: nevertheless, he governed Valencia with all the authority of a king, receiving ambassadors, and being treated with the highest respect by all nations. After his death, which happened in the year 1096, the kings of Castile and Aragon continued their wars against the Moors; and Spain was more drenched in blood than ever, and more desolated: the sad effects of the ancient conspiracy between Archbishop Opas and Count Julian, above four hundred years before, which, for a long time after, proved the source of numberless misfortunes to the kingdom of Spain.

CHAPTER XXXV.

RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

Heresies seem to be the fruit of a little knowledge and a little leisure. We have already seen that the state of the Church in the tenth century scarcely permitted either leisure or study. Everyone was in

arms, and the whole dispute was about riches and power. Nevertheless, during the reign of Robert, king of France, there were several priests of that kingdom, and among others one Stephen, confessor to Queen Constance, accused of heresy. These people were stigmatized with the name of Manichæans, only to render them more odious; for neither they nor their judges could possibly understand anything of the doctrine taught by the Persian philosopher Manes. They were probably a set of enthusiasts, who pretended to an extraordinary degree of perfection in order to impose on the minds of the ignorant. This is the general character of the chiefs of all sects. They were charged with horrible crimes and unnatural sentiments, the common way of treating those whose doctrines are not understood. They, in 1028, were formally accused of repeating litanies in honor of evil spirits, with putting out the lights afterwards and then mingling together indifferently; with burning the first children they had by this incestuous commerce, and swallowing their ashes. These are much the same kind of calumnies which were cast upon the first Christians by the Pagans, and which I believe were founded on the manner in which some of them celebrated the Lord's Supper, by eating bread made in the form of a child to represent the body of our Saviour, as still continues to be practised in some of the Greek churches.

The heretics of whom I am speaking were moreover principally accused of having taught that God

did not come down on earth, that he was not born of a virgin, and that he neither died nor rose again. If this is true, they were not Christians; and, indeed, accusations of this kind are generally found to contradict one another.

All that we can gather with certainty is, that King Robert and his queen, Constantia, went to Orleans, where some of the people called Manichæans had assembled themselves, and that the bishops caused thirteen of these poor wretches to be burned alive: at which spectacle, so unworthy of their dignity, the king and queen are said to have assisted. Never before this execution was anyone put to death in France for preaching what they did not understand. It is true that, in the fourth century, Priscillian was condemned to death with seven of his followers at Trier. But this city, which then made a part of the two Gauls, has not been annexed to France since the declension of the house of Charlemagne. And let it be observed that St. Martin of Tours would not communicate with those bishops who had sought the blood of Priscillian, declaring openly that it was a damnable action to condemn men to death for being mistaken. But there was no St. Martin to be found in the time of King Robert.

After this there arose some slight disputes about the Eucharist, but these did not break out into any violent rupture. This subject, which ought to be only that of adoration and respectful silence, and not of persecution and contention, escaped even the

warm imaginations of the Greek Christians; or, perhaps, was neglected, from its giving no scope to the metaphysics cultivated by the Greek doctors after they had adopted the ideas of Plato. They had found sufficient employment for this philosophy in the explication of the Trinity, the consubstantiality of the Word, the union of the two natures and the two wills, and the abyss of predestination. But the questions, whether the bread and wine are changed into the second person of the Trinity, and consequently into God? whether we eat and drink this second person by faith only? these questions, I say, were of another kind, and did not appear to be subject to the philosophy of those times. Accordingly, in the first ages of Christianity, people contented themselves with eating the Lord's Supper in the evening, and with communicating at the mass under both kinds, without having any fixed and determinate ideas in relation to this mystery.

It appears that in many churches, and particularly in England, they believed that they only ate and drank the body and blood of Christ spiritually. And in the Bodleian library there is a homily, written in the tenth century, in which are these words: "It is truly by consecration the body and blood of Christ, not corporally, but spiritually. The body in which Jesus Christ suffered and the Eucharistical body are entirely different. The first was composed of flesh and bones, animated by a rational soul; but what we call the Eucharist has neither blood, nor bones,

nor soul. We ought, then, to understand it in a spiritual sense."

Johannes Scotus, surnamed Erigena, because he came from Ireland, had long before maintained the same opinion, in the reign of Charles the Bald, and that, too, as we are told, by the emperor's own orders.

In the time of this Scotus, or Scot, one Ratramne, a monk of Corbie, and others, wrote on this mystery in such a manner as to leave room at least to doubt, whether they believed in what has since been called the "real presence." For this Ratramne, in his epistle addressed to the emperor Charles the Bald, says, in express terms, " It is the body of Jesus Christ which is seen, received, and eaten, not by the bodily senses, but by the eyes of the minds of the faithful."

Others, however, wrote against them, and the most common opinion certainly was, that the true body of Jesus Christ was eaten, since they disputed in order to know whether it was digested and voided again.

At length Berenger, archdeacon of Angers, about the year 1050, both by his writings and from the pulpit, taught that the real body of Jesus Christ was not, nor could possibly be, under the appearances of bread and wine.

He affirmed that what would cause an indigestion if eaten in too great a quantity, could be no other than an aliment, or that what would cause drunkenness, when too freely drunk, was a real liquor; that

there was no whiteness in a thing that appeared white, nor roundness in an object that appeared round, etc. These propositions of Berenger's could not fail of setting many against him, and the more so as his great reputation had raised him a number of enemies. The person who distinguished himself most against him was Lanfranc, of the Lombard race, born at Pavia, who was come to seek his fortune in France, and whose reputation was equal to that of Berenger. This is the method he made use of to confute his adversary, in his treatise "*De Corpore Domini.*"

"It may truly be affirmed that the body of our Lord, in the Eucharist, is the same as that which was brought forth by the Virgin; and that it is not the same: it is the same as to the essences and properties of real nature, and it is not the same as to the species of bread and wine; so that it is the same as to the substance, and it is not the same as to the form."

Lanfranc's opinion seems to be, in general, that of the whole Church; Berenger had reasoned only as a philosopher. Here the question was about a matter of faith, a mystery which was acknowledged by the Church as incomprehensible. Now Berenger was a member of the Church, and therefore ought to have believed as she did, and, like her, have submitted to reason. However, he was condemned by the Council of Paris in the year 1050, and again at Rome in 1079, and compelled to pronounce his

recantation; but this, being forced, only served to rivet his sentiments more deeply in his heart, and he died in this opinion, which neither caused a schism nor a civil war. Temporalities alone were, at that time, the grand objects which employed the ambition of mankind, the other source, which was to produce the effusion of so much blood, not having been yet opened.

We may reasonably suppose that the ignorance of those times strengthened the popular superstition. I shall relate some examples, which have long exercised human credulity. It is pretended that the emperor Otho III. put his wife, Mary of Aragon, to death for being guilty of adultery. It is very possible that a bigoted and cruel prince, such as Otho III. is painted, might have punished with death a wife less vicious than himself; but more than twenty authors have written, and Maimbourg has repeated after them, and others again after Maimbourg, that the empress, having made advances to a young Italian count, who rejected them from a principle of virtue, she accused this count to the emperor, her husband, of an attempt to seduce her, and he was punished with death. Upon this, the count's widow, they say, came with her husband's head in her hand to demand justice on the accuser, and to prove his innocence. The heroic widow insisted upon being put to the trial of the hot iron, and held in her hand an iron bar, red-hot, as long as the judges thought proper; and this miracle serving as a legal proof

of the empress' guilt, she was condemned to be burned alive.

Maimbourg should have considered that this fable is related by authors who wrote a long time after the death of Otho, and that they do not so much as give us the names of the Italian count, and of the widow who handled a bar of red-hot iron with such impunity. In short, should even contemporary authors pretend to give authentic accounts of such an event, they would not deserve greater credit than the wizards who depose before a court of justice that they have assisted at the nocturnal meetings of witches.

The adventure of a bar of iron is alone sufficient to discredit the punishment of Mary of Aragon, related in so many dictionaries and histories, in which every page is a mixture of truth and falsehood.

The second event is much of the same kind. It is pretended that Henry II., successor to Otho III., made trial of the fidelity of his wife, Cunegunda, by making her walk barefooted over nine ploughshares heated red-hot. This story, related in so many martyrologies, deserves the same reply as that of Otho's wife.

Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino, and several other writers, relate a fact nearly resembling this. In 1063 the monks of Florence, displeased with their bishop, went through the town and country crying: "Our bishop is a Simonist, and a vile wretch;" and they

had the boldness, says the legend, to promise that they would make good their accusation by ordeal trial. A day was set apart for this ceremony, which was on the Wednesday in the first week of Lent. Two piles of wood were prepared, each ten feet in length and five in breadth, separated by a path a foot and a half broad, filled with dry wood. The two piles being lighted, and the wood in this space reduced to coals, a monk named Aldrobandin passed through this path with a grave and solemn pace, and even returned half-way back to take from the midst of the flames his cloak, which he had let fall. This has been related by many historians, and cannot be denied without overturning the very foundations of history; but it is as certain that we cannot give credit to it without overturning the very foundations of reason.

It is doubtless very possible that a man may pass swiftly between two burning piles of wood, and even over hot embers, without being entirely burned; but to go gravely backwards and forwards, to take up a cloak, is one of those adventures of the "Golden Legend," which ought no longer to be mentioned by men of common understanding.

The last proof I shall relate is that made use of in Spain, after the taking of Toledo, to prove whether they were to repeat the Roman Office, or that called the Mosarabic. It was at first agreed on all hands to terminate the dispute by single combat. Two champions, completely armed, fought according to

all the rules of chivalry, and Don Ruis de Martanza, knight of the Mozarabic mass-book, made his adversary lose his saddle, and threw him half dead to the ground. But the queen, who had a strong inclination to the Roman Missal, resolved that they should make the trial of fire. All the laws of chivalry were against it. However, the two mass-books were thrown into the fire, where, most probably, they were both burned; but the king, not to give umbrage to either party, ordered it so that some churches prayed according to the Romish ritual and others kept to the Mosarabic.

Whatever was most venerable and august in religion was debased throughout the whole West by the most ridiculous and absurd customs. There was a festival of fools, and another of asses, observed in most of the churches. On these days they made a bishop of the fools, and brought an ass into the body of the church, dressed in a cope and bonnet.

The ceremonies observed at those extravagant festivals, which continued to be in use in several dioceses for upwards of seven centuries, consisted in dancing in the church, feasting on the altars, and exhibiting the most obscene and lewd farces. To consider only the customs which I have here related, one would imagine that one was reading a description of Negroes and Hottentots; and indeed it must be confessed that in many things we have been very little superior to them.

The Church of Rome has always condemned these

barbarous customs, as well as the trials by single combat and fire. And, notwithstanding all the troubles and infamy which it has had to encounter, it has always preserved a greater decency and gravity in its worship than any of the other churches, and has given proofs that when in a state of freedom, and under due regulation, it was formed to give lessons to all others.